THE MUSIC OF GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

Sarah Jane Williams

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Abstract

Guillaume de Machaut, fourteenth century poet and composer, wrote not in one, but in a variety of musical styles, each distinct in character. (There is no comparable variety in his poetry.) His artistic personality as a composer is very complex. In some styles, he is the most progressive of the progressives, in others, the most conservative of the conservatives. He even wrote in styles which were completely outside by the fourteenth century, and which no other composers were cultivating. At the other extreme, he is, so far as we know, the creator of the most important musical style of the fourteenth century, the leader of his own generation of composers and of the following one. On the modern side are the estampie, ballades, rondeaux, and, to a lesser extent, the polyphonic virelais; on the archaic side, the lais, monodic virelais, motes, and hoquet.

Through a study of the principal Machaut manuscripts and their relationship to each other, it is possible to distinguish several chronological stages in Machaut's repertory. The most important result of this study is to show that the motets belong almost exclusively to an early period of Machaut's composition, sometime in the 1340's, after he had formulated his mature ballade style, the motet is virtually dropped from his repertory. The archaic pieces, however, are not exclusively a product of Machaut's early years. The musical qualities of modern and archaic styles continue to the very end of his career, even he was still writing antiquated lais. Nor is the motet, although it cannot be dated precisely, an early work.

The shift from motet to ballade as the central genre in Machaut's repertory is paralleled, on a larger scale, in the history of fourteenth century music as a whole, and it seems clear that Machaut's example was responsible for this shift. The ars nova movement of the early fourteenth century, with Philippe de Vitry as its chief representative, had centered around the isorhythmic motet. Machaut, in his early years, was content for a while to follow the model of Vitry. Later, in his ballades and rondeaux, descendants of thirteenth century dance songs, but completely reinterpreted musically by Machaut, and made the vehicles of a radically new style, he gave the history of fourteenth century music a different direction. The new style apparently originated in the ballade, and was only slightly later transferred to the rondeau; not until after Machaut's time was its transference to the virelai completed.

This dissertation also includes discussions of Machaut's biography and relation to his patrons; of his artistic ideals; of the relationship between poetry and music as it was conceived by Machaut and other medieval composers; and of the levels of

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Summary

Guillaume de Machaut, fourteenth century poet and composer, wrote not in one, but in a variety of musical styles, each distinct in character. (There is no comparable variety in his poetry.) His artistic personality as a composer is very complex. In some styles, he is the most progressive of the progressives, in others, the most conservative of the conservatives. He even wrote in styles which were completely archaic by the fourteenth century, and which no other composers were cultivating. At the other extreme, he is, as far as we know, the creator of the most important musical style of the fourteenth century, the leader of his own generation of composers and of the following one. On the modern side are the motets, ballades, rondeaux, and, to a lesser extent, the polyphonic virelais; on the archaic side, the lais, monodic virelais, mass, and hoquet.

Through a study of the principal Machaut manuscripts and their relationship to each other, it is possible to distinguish several chronological stages in Machaut's repertory. The most important result of this study is to show that the motets belong almost exclusively to an early period of Machaut's composition; sometime in the 1340's, after he had formulated his mature ballade style, the motet is virtually dropped from his repertory. The archaic genres, however, are not exclusively a product of Machaut's early years. The musical dualism of modern and archaic styles continues to the very end of his career, when he was still writing antiquated lais. Nor is the mass, although it cannot be dated precisely, an early work.

The shift from motet to ballade as the central genre in Machaut's repertory is paralleled, on a larger scale, in the history of fourteenth century music as a whole, and it seems clear that Machaut's example was responsible for this shift. The Ars nova movement of the early fourteenth century, with Philippe de Vitry as its chief representative, had centered around the isorhythmic motet. Machaut, in his early years, was content for a while to follow the model of Vitry. Later, in his ballades and rondeaux, descendants of thirteenth century dance songs, but completely reinterpreted musically by Machaut, and made the vehicles of a radically new style, he gave the history of fourteenth century music a different direction. The new style apparently originated in the ballade, and was only slightly later transferred to the rondeau; not until after Machaut's time was its transference to the virelai completed.

This dissertation also includes discussions of Machaut's biography and relation to his patrons; of his artistic ideals; of the relationship between poetry and music as it was conceived by Machaut and other mediaeval composers; and of the ideals of performance. Selected examples of the unpublished lais are given in an appendix.

THE MUSIC OF GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Sarah Jane Williams

April, 1952

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations

Page

Introduction 1

Chapter

I The Prologue and its Intellectual Background 6

II Guillaume de Machaut--His Life and Works 32

III The Chronology of the Works 84

IV The Motets 120

V Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais . . . 180

VI The Lais 272

VII The Mass 292

VIII Music, Poetry and Performance . . . 310

IX "La Viez et Nouvele Forge" 330

Appendix

I The Manuscript E 344

II A New Machaut Motet? 352

III Lai Stanzas--Examples . . . . . 354 (in copy 1 only)

Bibliography 380

Abbreviations

Manuscripts

A	Paris, B.N. frç. 1584.
B	B.N. frç. 1585.
C	B.N. frç. 1586.
D	B.N. frç. 1587.
E	B.N. frç. 9221.
F-G	B.N. frç. 22545, 22546.
J	Bern, State Library 218.
K	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 5203.
M	Paris, B.N. frç. 843.
Vg	Formerly in the possession of the Marquis de Vogüé; present possessor unknown.

Books

MO	Oeuvres de Guillaume de Machaut. Ed. Ernest Hoepffner. 3 vols. Paris, 1908, 1911, 1921.
MP	Guillaume de Machaut. Poésies Lyriques. Ed. V. Chichmaref. 2 vols. Paris, 1909.
MW	Guillaume de Machaut. Musikalische Werke. Ed. Friedrich Ludwig. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1926-1929.
AH	Handbuch der Musikgeschichte. Ed. Guido Adler. Frankfurt, 1924.
CS	E. Coussemaker. Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series. 4 vols. 1864-1876.
GS	M. Gerbert. Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum. 3 vols. 1784.
HAM	Historical Anthology of Music. Ed. W. Apel and A. Davison. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1946, 1950.
MGG	Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik. Friedrich Blume, ed. Kassel and Basel, 1949-. (A through BYR have so far appeared.)

Periodicals

AfMW	Archiv für Musikwissenschaft.
MQ	Musical quarterly.
RM	Revue Musicale.
SIMG	Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft.
ZfMW	Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft.
ZfRP	Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie.
JAMS	Journal of the American Musicological Society.

Introduction

In the Règles de seconde rhétorique "maistre Guillaume de Machault" is proclaimed "le grant rethorique de nouvelle fourme, qui commencha toutes tailles nouvelles, et les parfais lays d'amours."[1] This judgment of the early fifteenth century has been perpetuated by modern literary historians, who continue to see in Machaut the "great innovator of the fourteenth century."[2] Modern opinion, however, is less eulogistic than might first appear; it undercuts the importance that it accords Machaut in his own age with a generally low opinion of that age. Machaut is thus seen as an innovator in an age where nothing is really very new, an age of transition,[3] of decadence, a "valley between two mountains."[4] "Temps sanz honeur et sanz vray jugement."[5] Such a judgment is, of

1 M. E. Langlois, ed., Recueil d'Arts de Seconde Rhétorique (Paris, 1902), 12.
2 Gaston Paris, La Poésie du Moyen Age (Paris, 1895, 2 vols.), II, 199.
3 Ibid., 188.
4 Henri Chamard, Les Origines de la Poésie Française de la Renaissance (Paris, 1932), 43.
5 "Contre le temps présent," Oeuvres Complètes de Eustache Deschamps, ed. Le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire and Gaston Raynaud (Paris, 1878-1902, 11 vols.), I, nr. XXI.

course, harsh, and needs some modification. It is true, nevertheless, that French poetry of the fourteenth century has nothing to offer comparable to the work of Dante, Petrarch, or Chaucer (who paid Machaut the high compliment of imitating him). The Voir Dit, one of the most curious works of all literary history, the Prologue, and a few of the lyrics deserve a wider audience. But most of his poetry seems destined to remain the property of specialists.

If Machaut is a minor poet, he is nevertheless a major composer. He was more prolific as a poet, and his contemporaries seem to have at least as much admiration for his poetry as for his music. But with our contemporaries it is a different story. Machaut's music has attracted the attention of our major composers and their followers (in spite of the fact that the edition of his music is out of print, and that the secondary literature is very small.) Paul Hindemith, in analysing a Machaut ballade, speaks of "features which can only today again be felt as correct and beautiful, because we again have the ability, common in Machaut's time, to separate harmonic and melodic elements while listening, and to weigh one against

the other."[1] Stravinsky's mass, his first large liturgical work, inspires a reviewer to mention Machaut's mass and those of Dufay.[2] A recent essay devoted to Machaut begins by comparing him to Schoenberg:

> "In order to understand and to justify, if only historically, the integrative devices that Arnold Schoenberg makes use of, we cannot do better than to compare them with those that served the purposes of Guillaume de Machaut."[3]

The music of the late middle ages, of the period from about 1300 to 1450, the period dominated by Machaut at its beginning and Dufay at its end, probably has greater affinities to modern music than that of any other period of music history, in rhythmic, harmonic, and melodic aspects. Machaut's music, however, in view of its present and permanent importance, has hitherto not received the amount of attention it deserves.[4]

Our aim, in this study, will be to arrive at

1 Paul Hindemith, The Craft of Musical Composition, 2nd edition, Book I (New York and London, 1945), 206.
2 New York Times, February 20, 1949.
3 George Perle, "Integrative Devices in the Music of Machaut," MQ 34 (1948), 169.
4 Until recently, the only articles devoted exclusively to the music of Machaut were those of Machabey and of Guillaume de Van. (A. Machabey, "Guillaume de Machault, la vie et l'homme,"

some definition of Machaut's music, a definition that takes into account not only formal aspects of the works, but the historical perspectives which frame

(cont.) MM 11 (1930), 425, and 12 (1931), 320, 402; Guillaume de Van, "La Prolation Mineure chez Guillaume de Machaut," Sources, Études, Recherches, Informations, des Bibliothèques Nationales de France, Première Série, 1er Fascicule (Paris, 1943), 24.) Now there is the article of Perle, referred to above, and Gombosi's study of Machaut's mass. (Otto Gombosi, "Machaut's Messe Notre-Dame," MQ 36 (1950), 204.) With the exception of the numerous literary studies of the Chaucer scholars, these two articles represent the only literature in English on Machaut. For a partial bibliography of the Chaucer-Machaut literature, see Urban T. Holmes, ed., A Critical Bibliography of French Literature, Vol. I, The Mediaeval Period (Syracuse, 1947), 153. Machaut is, of course, taken up in general discussions of the Ars nova, such as Besseler's on the motet, or Ludwig's on the mass of the fourteenth century. (Heinrich Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalter. II. Die Motette von Franko von Köln bis Philipp von Vitry," AfMW 8 (1926), 137; Friedrich Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmige Messe des 14. Jahrhunderts," AfMW 7 (1925), 417.) His literary and musical works, moreover, have had outstanding editors, notably Friedrich Ludwig, who edited the music, Ernest Hoepffner, who edited the narrative poems, and V. Chichmaref, who edited the lyrics. (See table of abbreviations and bibliography for complete listings.) Other poems have been edited by Paulin Paris, Le Livre du Voir-Dit de Guillaume de Machaut (Paris, 1875); L. de Mas Latrie, La Prise d'Alexandre (Geneva, 1877); Prosper Tarbé, Les oeuvres de G. de Machault (Reims, 1849); Karl Young, "The Dit de la Harpe of Guillaume de Machaut," Essays in Honor of Albert Feuillerat (New Haven, 1943). All of Machaut's poetry has been edited, with the exception of the short Dit de la fleur de lis et de la marguerite,

them. For example, the style of Machaut's motets can be more completely defined if it is compared with the style of earlier motets than if it is described merely "in itself." Nor can we, in our search for a definition, neglect to study the "aesthetics" of Machaut, the audience for which the works were intended, the relation of poetry to music, and the subordination of both to the ideals of courtly love.

(cont.) a late work. But there are still gaps in the musical edition of Machaut's works. Ludwig's fourth volume, which contained the lais and the mass, was never published. The mass has recently appeared in no less than three editions, but the lais remain to be transcribed. (Jacques Chailley, ed., Guillaume de Machaut, Messe Notre-Dame dite du Sacre de Charles V ... (Paris, 1948); Armand Machabey, ed., Messe Notre-Dame à quatre voix de Guillaume de Machault (Liège, 1948); Guglielmus de Van, ed., Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 2, Guglielmi de Maschaudio Opera 1, La Messe de Notre Dame (Rome, 1949).)

Chapter I

The Prologue and Its Intellectual Background

The best introduction to Machaut's works is, after all, his own: the Prologue which opens the most complete manuscripts. This statement of artistic aims, set down towards the end of his career, is presented in Machaut's favorite poetic medium, allegory. There are three interlocutors in the Prologue, Nature, Love, and Machaut himself. Nature's first speech, which takes the form of a ballade, commands the poet to compose "nouviaus dis amoureus plaisans,"[1] and for this purpose she presents him with her three children, Reason, Rhetoric, and Music. Guillaume answers Nature in a second ballade, whereupon Love, who has overheard the exchange, presents the poet with his three children, Sweet Thinking, Pleasure, and Hope.[2] The ballade which forms the poet's answer

1 MO, I, 1.5.

2 The famous miniatures which depict the scene in the manuscript A have often been reproduced: see the references in Ludwig, MW, II, 9* and 69*; also De Van, "La Prolation Mineure ...," Sources, opp. p. 24; H. Besseler, Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance (New York, Musurgia, 1949; Photolithographischer Ausdruck der Original Ausgabe, 1931), p. 136; Th. Gérold, Histoire de la Musique des Origines à la Fin du XIVe Siècle (Paris, 1936), Pl. XXVII; Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York, 1940), Pl VIII; A. Della Corte and G. Pannain, Storia della Musica (Turin, 1944, 3 vols.), I, 210, 212.

to the god concludes the first part of the Prologue.[1]

A section in octosyllabic couplets follows, in which Machaut, meditating on these gifts, enumerates some of the forms in which he will compose, elaborates a moral and psychological theory of art, discusses the power of music, and concludes with a final affirmation of his resolve to fulfill the tasks set him by Nature, and the god of Love.

It is clear, even from this brief summary, first, that music is considered an integral part of Machaut's art, and second, that courtly love, the praise of women, is presented as his sole subject. Love is indeed for Machaut, in practice as well as in theory, the "supreme theme of Art and Song." Of his longer poems, only the Confort d'Ami and the Prise d'Alexandrie remain outside the courtly sphere; of the music, only the mass and the hoquet. Even the motet, which by the beginning of the fourteenth century was being used chiefly for moral, political, or polemic expressions, he draws into the realm of courtly love. Machaut would present not merely a single poem, but

1 The four ballades are found separately in mss. F and H. See Appendix I.

his work as a whole, as one "où l'art d'amors est tote enclose."[1]

Examining the Prologue more closely, we find that Machaut is at pains to advertise the novelty of the works to follow. Nature has enjoined Machaut to create "nouviaus dis amoureus plaisans;" and this topic is taken up again not only in Love's ballade but also in the second part of the Prologue. The novelty with which Machaut is concerned here is not to be identified without further consideration with what is suggested by the title of Vitry's treatise, Ars Nova, with its emphasis on specifically musical and notational innovations. It seems rather to belong in the old tradition, which comes down from antiquity, according to which authors promise their readers something new, "carmina non prius audita."[2] But from the way in which the topic is presented in the Prologue we can already see that Machaut is departing from the vagueness of the traditional formula. For now the newness is said to be found not in the content,

1 Guillaume de Lorris, Le Roman de la Rose, E. Langlois, ed., (Paris, 1920), II, l. 38.

2 Horace, Ode I, Bk. III, the "Odi profanum vulgus." Cf. Ernst Robert Curtius, Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter (Bern, 1948), 48.

in the tale to be told, but rather, specifically, in the form.

If we recall, for a moment, the two groups of children presented to the poet by his allegorical visitors, we should recognize that the separation between them really stands for a distinction between form and matter, between maniere and matere. Love explicitly offers her offspring, Sweet Thinking, Pleasure, and Hope, to the poet "pour lui donner matere a faire ce que Nature li a enchargié." But Love's matere does not purport to be new -- as indeed it was not.

It is quite otherwise, however, with Nature's Reason, Rhetoric, and Music which appear to be aspects of form. Reason, the faculty by means of which one's ideas are given form and order (as Machaut says:

"Scens y est qui tout gouverne
En chambre, en salle, et en taverne)[1]

is, in its own way, the source of the kind of novelty that in later times might have been called "wit":

"Par Scens aras ton engin (ingenuity)
enfourmé."[2]

1 ll. 159-160.
2 l. 10.

Rhetoric is the source of novelty in the external form of the ideas, the words:

> "Retorique versefier
> Fait l'amant et metrifier
> Et si fait faire jolis vers
> Nouviaus et de metres divers."[1]

And Music, says Nature, somewhat more vaguely,

> "...te donra chans
> Tant que vorras, divers et deduisans."[2]

From the Prologue, therefore, we are given reason to expect novelty in the works to follow, but novelty of a special kind. It is not in his ideas or sentiments -- those had already been familiar for two centuries in the poetry of courtly love -- but rather in the formal aspect of his work that Machaut seems to feel his claim to recognition lies.

Up to now we have not mentioned one curious feature of Nature's family. Two of the children, Rhetoric and Music, would seem to be members of the seven liberal arts. As the third member of this trilogy we should normally expect Logic instead of Song. (Machaut's Song is, in fact very similar to Deschamps's conception of Logic.)[3] Machaut's

1 ll. 147-150.
2 ll. 14-15.
3 "Logique est après une science d'arrier choses faintes et subtiles, coulourées de feulx argumens, pour discerner et mieulx congnoistre la verité des choses entre le feulx et le voir, et qui rent l'omme plus subtil en parole et plus habile entre les autres." "Art de Dictier," Oeuvres, VII, 267.

substitution gives us a hint that the three children of Nature are not, indeed, identical with the traditional liberal arts, although the difference is a subtle one. The scope of Rhetoric, as defined in the passage quoted above, is restricted by Machaut. It is here equivalent to the Seconde Rhétorique of later theorists, so called because "la premiere est prosayque,"[1] and concerned exclusively with matters of versification.[2] Nature's gifts, moreover, are considered from the standpoint of practice rather than of theory. Her children, she tells Machaut, "t'en donront la pratique." Reason, Rhetoric, and Music are faculties, talents, rather than sciences, bodies of knowledge. In the literal meaning of the allegory, they are "natural gifts," unmediated by speculative knowledge.

The formal elements of Machaut's art are, by implication, the more precious not only because they comprise the locus of novelty, but because they are the gifts of the great goddess Nature, with whom the poet, as creator, is compared.

> "I, Nature, by whom all things are formed
> That are on land or sea

1 Langlois, Recueil d'Arts de Seconde Rhétorique, p. ii. The Seconde Rhétorique also implied use of the vernacular.

2 Ibid., p. iii.

Come here to you, Guillaume, whom I have
formed
Apart; and for this end, that you may form
Pleasant new tales of love."[1]

The theme of creation is underlined by the repetition of rhymes built on "fourmer" which echo through Nature's ballade. (It is one of Machaut's most meaningful uses of rich rhyme.) With pride that is characteristic, Machaut suggest an analogy between Nature herself and the poet whom Nature has set apart from others by endowing him with powers like her own. His works will therefore be more famous than those of others.[2]

The gifts of Nature and the god of Love must now be put to work. They will assist the poet in his composition of

" ... dis et chansonettes
Pleines d'onneur et d'amourettes,
Doubles hoquès et plaisans lais,
Motès, rondiaus et viralais,
Qu'on claime chansons baladées,
Complaintes, balades entées
A l'onneur et a la louange
De toutes dames sans losange."[3]

The list includes every genre cultivated by Machaut,

1 "Je, Nature, par qui tout est fourmé
Quanqu'a ça jus et seur terre et en mer,
Vien ci a toy, Guillaume, qui fourmé
T'ay a part, pour faire par toy fourmer
Nouviaus dis amoureus plaisans." ll. 1-5.

2 l. 19, "Ti fait seront plus qu'autre renommé."

3 Prologue, Part 2, ll. 11-18.

with the single important exception of the mass, which cannot be reconciled with courtly aims.[1]

Machaut vows that he will devote feeling and understanding to his task, which is one conducive to virtue and opposed to vice; for no task could be better suited to making a man noble, cheerful, lively, frank, elegant, and polite.[2] A man devoted to the praising and honouring of women cannot contemplate any villainy, hatred, fraud, or calumny.[3] This Guillaume can bear witness to from his own experience, for when he is in this state, his only thought is the making of an appropriate poem or song. "And if I had any other thought," he concludes, "I should undo all my work."[4] It is evident that love is not only the subject matter but, in theory at least, the very inspiration of the courtly poet.[5] "Poet" is, of

1 The reasons for the inclusion of the hoquet in this list are somewhat obscure, since Machaut's only composition in that form seems more closely related to the liturgical than to the courtly sphere.
2 Prologue 2, ll. 21-29.
3 Ibid., ll. 31-35.
4 ll. 38-42.
5 Cf. ll. 407-408 of the Remede de Fortune: "Car qui de sentement ne fait/ Son oeuvre et son chant contrefait," which Machaut quotes again in a letter to Péronne in the Voir Dit, Paulin Paris, ed., p. 61.

course, synonymous with "poet-musician," who is, in turn, identical with the lover in Machaut's theory.

The poet, moreover, should be gay. Even if his subject is sad, his manner should be joyous, for a heart full of sadness cannot sing gaily. This idea receives strong emphasis in the Prologue. Machaut develops it for some fifty lines.

> "Que li tristes cuers doit mieus faire
> Que li joieus, c'est fort a faire,
> Ne je ne m'y puis acorder."[1]

As a lover, the poet is fortified by Pleasure, Sweet Thinking, and Memory, who recalls to him the image of his beloved:

> "Sages est qui tel vie eslist."

The behaviour of the melancholy man ("li tristes"), on the other hand, is to be censured:

> "Qu'il a tant de dueil et de rage
> Que c'est merveille qu'il n'enrage,
> Ou qu'il ne se tue ou se pent,
> Ou que d'amer ne se repent,
> Si qu'il ne porroit nullement
> Riens faire si joliement
> De sa matiere dolereuse
> Com li joieus de sa joieuse."[2]

Finally, the very nature of Music requires the artist-lover to be joyful:

1 ll. 53-55.
2 ll. 73-80.

"Et Musique est une science
Qui vuet qu'on rie et chante et dance.
Cure n'a de merencolie
Ne d'homme qui merencolie."[1]

Music, wherever she is, comforts and makes men rejoice.

This mention of music leads naturally to a further discussion of her powers. All musical instruments are formed according to her laws, and her works are more perfectly proportioned than any others.[2] In courtly society she presides over the dance, while in the divine office, what could be more noble than to praise God and sweet mother in song? Not only men, but saints, angels and archangels praise God in song, because He has set them in glory, and they see Him face to face:

"Donc est Musique en paradis."[3]

This religious note, rarely sounded in Machaut's work, might be considered as an oblique reference to his own mass, the only one the courtly poet could permit himself. David and Orpheus, the great traditional embodiments of the power of music, are the final examples in this section.

1 ll. 85-88.
2 "Tous ses fais plus a point mesure/ Que ne fait nulle autre mesure."
3 l. 125.

The prominence given to Music in this second section of the Prologue is very striking. After sixty lines devoted to her praise, a mere twenty are allotted to Rhetoric, Reason, and the three children of Love; and only Rhetoric, whose ingenious rhyme types are enumerated, receives more than a brief mention.

The last lines, with their final reference to Nature, Love, and the praise of women, conclude the Prologue by bringing us back to its starting point.

ii

For Machaut, as for the troubadours and trouvères, an intimate relationship between poetry and music is assumed rather than discussed or explained. The same is true of the relationship between music and the ideals of courtly love. But how, on what grounds are music and poetry, or music and love related? If Machaut and his predecessors say very little directly that could help us answer these questions, the reason is that for them the answers were obvious. The answers are to be found among some of the great common-places of the middle ages, the commonplaces of courtly

love doctrine, on the one hand, and the much older ones of musical speculation, on the other. But they are no longer our commonplaces, and we shall risk misunderstanding by neglecting to study them. This is especially true since, while the philosophical basis of religious art in the Middle Ages is easily discovered, the theories that underlie secular art (and the music of the fourteenth century is almost entirely secular) are more obscure, and have received comparatively little attention.

Let us first examine an idea of the Prologue which seems puzzling to the modern reader, the insistence thatthe poet must be gay. It is a theory by no means peculiar to Machaut. Here his immediate source may have been the Roman de la Rose:

> "Car qui le cuer a bien dolent
> Sachiez de voir qu'il n'a talent
> De dancier ne de quereler.
> Nus ne se porroit amoler
> Qui duel eust, à joie faire,
> Car joie et dueus sont dui contraire."[1] —

but the idea is, in fact, a commonplace of troubadour and trouvère poetry. Yet, although the lover is supposed to be gay, Machaut's tone, especially in the lyrics, is more often melancholy. Others have

1 Guillaume de Lorris, loc. cit., ll. 334-339. Guillaume de Lorris is one of the chief sources of Machaut's poetry, which is in the direct tradition of the first part of the tremendously popular allegory.

noticed the same discrepancy between theory and practice in troubadour poetry.[1]

This apparent contradiction is, first of all, the logical extension of a paradox at the heart of courtly doctrine, the paradox of "sweet suffering." The twelfth century theorist, Andreas Capellanus, defines love as "a certain inborn suffering derived from the sight of and excessive meditation upon the beauty of the opposite sex."[2]

> "By a metaphor which is a banality of all courtly poetry, love is un mal, un tourment. Suffering becomes synonymous with passion."[3]

But this suffering is unlike any other; it is agreeable, pleasant, sweet, and so on.[3] Love's arrows may wound, but, as Machaut says, "Sweet is the wound, and pleasant the sting."[4] Hope (Espérance) tells

1 Jean Beck, Les Chansonniers des Troubadours et des Trouvères (Philadelphia and Paris, 1927, 2 vols.), II, 69; Beck quotes a declaration of Jerome of Moravia that sadness hinders the musician.
Karl Vossler, Aus der romanischen Welt (Karlsruhe, 1948), p. 31. "Die sensualistische Heiterkeit und das berühmte gai saber hatten ihr schmerzliches Gegengewicht, das man freilich zu verbergen suchte."

2 The Art of Courtly Love, trans. J.J. Parry (New York, 1941), p. 28.

3 Hyacinthe Dinet, Le Style de la lyrique courtoise en France aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles (Paris, 1891), p. 39. The latin "passio," which is the term Andreas uses in the passage just quoted, means "suffering," a sense which is lost in modern usage except in reference to the Passion of Christ.

4 Remede de Fortune, MO II, ll. 2831-2832.

the lover in the Roman de Fortune:

> "It has often happened that many have reached the object of their desire solely by suffering humbly and well ... And the proverb which records 'Who suffers, conquers,' confirms this."[1]

Since the reward of the servant of love will thus be in proportion to the torments he endures, he should welcome the prolongation of his suffering.[2] The peculiar and unique suffering of love is therefore fundamentally sweet or joyous. Already in Guillaume d'Aquitaine, the first troubadour, the exaltation of love is called "joi."[3]

This joy, furthermore, is naturally expressed in song.

> "My heart rejoiced greatly when my lady made me sing for love of her, in her praise and honour. For song is born from gladness, and tears from sorrow."[4]

Joy is externalized in song, because the essential nature of joy was thought to be musical or harmonious. It is explained as the result of the encounter of two harmonies.[5] This theory is implicit rather

1 Roman, ll. 1861-1865.
2 A. Jeanroy, La Poésie Lyrique des Troubadours (Paris, 1934, 2 vols.), II, 98. Jeanroy notes the similarity of courtly and Christian thought on this point.
3 A. Jeanroy, ed., Les Chansons de Guillaume IX duc d'Aquitaine (Paris, 1927), p. ix.
4 Roman, ll. 419-424.
5 Edgar de Bruyne, Études d'esthétique Médiévale (Bruges, 1946, 3 vols.), II, 147.

than explicit in the courtly writers, and for a more systematic account, we must turn to the philosophers. To Saint Bonaventure, for instance,

> "Every spontaneous and unreflective delight presupposes as an objective condition the union of the subject with a delightful object, which is good and beautiful, a perfect harmony between these two terms... Moreover, every union of a subject with an object is founded on the love of the subject for the object; without love, there is no delight: 'Sine amore nullae sunt deliciae' ... All joy leads to song. When a man loves a woman, he composes verses and songs."[1]

The harmonious nature of love is symbolized in French fourteenth century art by representations of lovers together with an instrumentalist, or lovers making music together.[2]

If joy is musical, melancholy is just the opposite. As Machaut states in the Prologue, music

1 De Bruyne, op. cit., III, 195, 196, where the following passages are quoted: "Ad delectationem enim concurrit delectabile et conjunctio ejus cum eo quod delectatur. Omne autem quod delectat animam delectat in ratione boni et pulchri. Et quoniam solus Deus est ipsa bonitas et pulchritudo, ideo in Deo solo est perfecta delectatio." "Quando aliquis amat mulierem amore libidinoso, ipse cantat de illa et facit cantilenas. Similiter si tu diligas Deum cantabis de Deo..."

2 Raimond van Marle, Iconographie de l'art profane au Moyen-Age et à la renaissance et la décoration des demeures (La Haye, Martinus Nijhoff, 1932, 2 vols.), I, 466.

has nothing to do with melancholy or with the melancholy man. For melancholy is a disorder, a pathological state.[1] It is unmusical.

We have already seen in the Prologue Machaut's emphasis on the virtues with which the artist-lover is endowed, an emphasis which suggests another link between love and music. The ennobling power of love is a fundamental characteristic of courtly love. "O what a wonderful thing is love," cries Andreas, "which makes a man shine with so many virtues and teaches everyone, no matter who he is, so many good traits of character."[2] And the mediaeval idea of music, inherited from Platonic and Pythagorean tradition, is also intimately connected with morality. "Musica vero non modo speculationi verum etiam moralitate conjuncta sit."[3] For the middle ages, music has both cosmic and human significance. Man is the microcosm of a universe based on numbers and proportions, a universe fundamentally musical in nature. The conceit on which Machaut based his Dit

1 Cf. Erwin Panofsky, Dürers 'Melencolia. I'(Leipzig-Berlin, 1923), 21-23. Mediaeval medical treatises prescribe music as a cure for melancholy.

2 The Art of Courtly Love, 31.

3 Boethius, quoted in E. de Bruyne, op. cit., II, 12.

de la Harpe, the comparison of a lady to a harp, and of each of her virtues to a string of the harp, probably seemed a much more natural one to a medieval reader than it does to us.[1]

In the ancient classification of music into mundana, humana, and instrumentalis, the "human music" included 1) the moral and psychological harmony of the soul, 2) the physiological harmony of the body, and 3) the harmony between body and soul.[2] Since pleasure, as we have seen earlier, is defined as the encounter of two harmonies, it follows that the capacity for musical enjoyment will depend on the moral and psychological equilibrium of the listener. In music the soul must recognize its own harmony. Conversely, immorality precludes the enjoyment of music. Lorenzo's famous lines in the Merchant of Venice summarize a view that was held throughout the middle ages:

> "The man that hath no music in himself,
> Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
> Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils.
> The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
> And his affections dark as Erebus.
> Let no such man be trusted."

1 The harp, moreover, had traditional associations as a Christian symbol.

2 See, for example, the classification of Hugo of St. Victor in Gerhard Pietzsch, Die Klassifikation der Musik von Boetius bis Ugolino von Orvieto (Halle, 1929), 76.

iii

Music, as well as poetry, and perhaps to a higher degree, is thus expressive of the joys of love, and of its refining power. But music and poetry, in mediaeval tradition also have a more general relation to each other, independent of their connection with courtly love. Deschamp's view that poetry is a division of music, which he develops in the Art de Dictier, has sometimes been considered more original than it actually is. What is eccentric in Deschamp's theory is his interpretation of poetry as natural music, and of music proper as artificial music. (Divisions of music into natural and artificial are common from Regino of Prüm on, but in an entirely different sense). Langlois sees in the assimilation of poetry to music the influence of Garlandia.[1] He refers to the following passage:

> "Tritules species est artis enim musice. Musica dividitur in mundanam, que constat in proportione qualitatum elementorum, et in humanam,

1 Recueil d'Arts de Seconde Rhétorique, pp. iii, lxvi.

> que constat in proportione et concordia humanorum, et in instrumentalem, que constat in concordia instrumentali; hec in musicam, metricam et rithmicam."[1]

But Garlandia's classification is itself entirely in line with tradition, for poetry, or at least versification, had been formally classified as a division of music at least seven centuries before his time. Garlandia's division is but a variant of that of Cassiodorus, echoed by many theorists, into harmonica, rhythmica, and metrica.[2] Garlandia, like other later theorists, reinterprets rhythmica to refer to rhythmical poetry. (Bede's De Re metrica had already defined and discussed rhythmical, as well as metrical poetry in musical terms, and Aurelian of Réomé, in the ninth century, modified the classification of Cassiodorus by introducing the new meaning of "rhythmus."[3]) For Roger Bacon, in the thirteenth century, music is divided into musica instrumentalis (then further

1 "ars rithmica," Giovanni Mari, ed., I Trattati Medievali di Ritmica Latina (Milan, 1899), 407, 408.

2 Pietzsch, op. cit., 51, 73. The term "melica" is substituted for "harmonica" in the twelfth century by W. of Conches.

3 De Bruyne, op. cit., I, 151, ff., 318.

subdivided), and *musica circa vocem humanam* which includes *melica*: *in cantu* and *in sonoris*: *prosaica*, *metrica*, and *rythmica*.[1] Terminologies and classifications may, and do vary, but the central idea is constant. The art of poetry, like that of music, is based on number and proportion.[2] For Deschamps the *trivium* (i.e., the arts of language) depend on music, which is the most perfect incarnation of number.[3] "Tous ses fais plus a point mesure," as Machaut states in the *Prologue*, "que ne fait nulle autre mesure." Rhyme and rhythm involve the counting and measuring of syllables.

> "... mais li sentiers de rime est plus estroiz et plus fors, si comme cil qui est clos et fermez de murs et de paliz ce est a dire de poinz et de nombre et de mesure certaine, de quoi on ne puet ne ne doit trespasser: car qui vouldra rimer, il li convient conter totes les sillabes de ses diz en tel maniere que li vers soient acordables en nombre et que li uns n'ait plus que li autres. Après ce convient il amesurer les deus derraines sillabes dou vers en tel manière que totes les lettres de la derraine sillabe soient semblables, et au mains la vocal sillabe qui va devant la derraine."[4]

1 De Bruyne, *op. cit.*, III, 236

2 Medieval Latin prose, which employs the rhythmically patterned *cursus*, could also be included.

3 De Bruyne, *op. cit.*, III, 238.

4 Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou tresor*, quoted in E. F. Patterson, *Three Centuries of French Poetic Theory; a Critical History of the Chief Arts of Poetry in France (1328-1630)* (Ann Arbor, 1935, 2 vols.), I, p. vii.

The identification of music and poetry is, however, more complete in Deschamps and the fifteenth century rhétoriqueurs, who cultivate the "musical" elements of poetry often at the expense of meaning,[1] than in the earlier rhetoricians who pay more attention to such presumably non-musical matters as composition, topics of invention, and rhetorical figures. Machaut's limitation of the province of rhetoric has already been noted, a limitation that is not without unfortunate results in his own poetry.

iv

For Machaut, music and poetry, inspired by Love, have their ultimate sanction and ground in Nature. Machaut's conception of Nature has a long, and rather involved ancestry. To trace it through the Latin literature of antiquity and the middle ages would require a lengthy excursion into the history of ideas.[2] It is a Nature which personifies the creative

1 Cf., Chemard, Les Origines ..., 149.

2 There is a large literature on the subject. See Heinrich Gelzer, Nature. Zum Einfluss der Scholastik auf den altfranzösischen Roman (Halle, 1917), reviewed by E. Faral in Romania 49, p. 285; Elsa Hermit, Frau Natur in der deutschen Literatur bis herab zu Shakespeare (Palaestra 110, Leipzig, 1923); J. J. Parsons, La doctrine de création dans l'école de Chartres (Paris, 1936); Curtius, "Gottin Natura," loc. cit., 114, ff.; C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (Oxford, 1936), 90, ff.; De Bruyne, op. cit., II, 276, ff. The musical implications of Nature's activity are pointed out by De Bruyne, II, 300.

rather than the created, *Natura naturans* as distinct from *natura naturata*, in the scholastic terminology. From the twelfth century on, through the influence of the philosophers of the school of Chartres (especially Alanus de Insulis and Bernardus Sylvestris), Nature, as a creative force, plays an increasingly important role in the metaphysical conception of the cosmos. Nature is thought of as an extension of the creative power of God (*Dei vicaria*), but, at the same time, tends to assume a somewhat independent position. The autonomy of nature is, of course, fortified by Aristotelian influences in thirteenth century philosophy. The further comparison of Nature's activity to that of the artist is one that is familiar to the philosophers.

Such a conception of Nature would seem to provide an ideal basis for the activity of the secular artist. Nature, on the one hand, is the vicar of God, an extension of the divine; on the other, it is independent, and even in competition with God Nature, like courtly love itself, has an ambiguous position in an age still dominated essentially by a religious world view.[1]

1 It is, perhaps, more than mere coincidence that among the 219 propositions condemned by pope John XXI in 1277 are included some of the love doctrines upheld by Andreas Capellanus, as well as theses upheld by Avicenna and Averroes. (Étienne Gilson, La Philosophie au Moyen Âge (3rd ed., Paris, 1947), 559.)

V

Not the least remarkable feature of Machaut's Prologue is its very nature as a prologue, an introduction to the artist's own work. The heightened self-consciousness of the fourteenth century artist is very evident in Machaut, and to it we owe the very preservation of his music. He himself supervises the collection of his works and dictates their arrangement.[1] In introducing himself as an actor in his own works, he creates a myth of the artist. He proclaims his authorship by weaving anagrams into his longer poems.[2] And finally, in the Prologue, he envisages his complete works as a unified whole, governed by constant aims and principles. For, as Poepffrer notes, the Prologue, in form as well as in

1 Cf. L. Poepffrer, Guillaume Deschamps. Leben und Werke (Strassburg, 1904), 118, 119: "Aber mit dem Erwachen des Selbstbewusstseins, wie es für die Dichter der Zeit durchaus charakteristisch wird, verschwand die Vorliebe zeit für die Fortdauer ihrer Schöpfungen und ihres Ruhmes; sie selbst liessen sich die Sammlung und die sorgfältige Niederschrift ihrer Werke, z.T. in den kostbarsten Handschriften, angelegen sein. Wie sir Petrarca auch für seine italienischen Gedichte, so gering er sie anschlug, gesorgt hat, ist bekannt; näher für Deschamps und ermunternder mochte das Vorbild gewesen sein, das ihm sein Meister Machaut hierin gegeben."

2 Cf. L. Poepffrer, "Anagramm und Akrostichon bei Guillaume de Machaut," ZfFF 30 (1906), 401.

content, is a summary of the poet's own work.

> "The ballades represent his lyric poetry, the section in octosyllabic couplets, his narrative and didactic poetry; there are personifications borrowed from the Roman de la Rose and 'examples' taken from the Bible or from writers of antiquity ... and it is the poet himself, named outright, who occupies the foreground of the scene and who informs us of his ideas and personal feelings. And these are exactly the three principal elements of Machaut's poetry: allegory, the biblical or mythological tale, and the attribution of the leading role to the poet himself, in a strange mixture of fiction and reality. Thus the Prologue is already enough to acquaint us with the main outlines of the poet and his work."[1]

And that is its chief function; it is not an abstract formulation or a technical treatise, but rather a concrete reference to the poet's own work.

Yet for the mediaeval artist who meditated on the function of his craft, art is not an end in itself and must serve higher principles or institutions. The greater the self-awareness of the artist, the greater his need to define such principles. For much mediaeval art the higher principle is God and the institution the church. But the secular artist could find something very much like an institution in courtly love, which has its doctrines and its courts, and a tutelary deity in Nature, a Nature

1 Hoepffner, MO I, liv, lv.

still trailing clouds of divine glory.

What do the theories of the Prologue really have to do with Machaut's music? Here, I think, it is wrong to imagine that there is no connection, or to see, as Dressler does, a profound cleavage between Machaut's courtly idealism and the "aesthetic freedom" of his music.[1] The "servile" position of music in the Middle Ages is, indeed, one of the very conditions of its freedom. To recognize this helps us understand why, in an age when music and poetry are said to be most closely related, when poet and composer are one, music normally has almost no expressive relationship to the meaning of the words, and the line between vocal and instrumental performance is easily crossed.[2] This is because music, by its very nature, is expressive of the joys of the lover, or of the harmony between the lover and the beloved, independently of the effort of the individual artist. The relationship between the meaning of

1 Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, 137, 139.

2 We shall discuss the relationship between poetry and music in Machaut's work in later chapters. Here we merely wish to show briefly that an understanding of the Prologue and its background is preliminary to such a discussion, and to suggest a solution to a problem that involves other mediaeval music as well.

poetry and that of music, in a universe founded on number, is not created by the artist; it is not a synthesis, but a pre-established harmony. Thus the mediaeval musician has little concern for the realistic imitation of the word; his interest lies rather in establishing a perfect formal congruence of text and music, a coincidence of rhyme and cadence, a coincidence of musical and stanzaic form. His art is "realistic" in the mediaeval, but not in the modern sense. The problem of meaning is solved beforehand for him, and he is free to concentrate on purely musical ends.

Mediaeval music thus embodies a moral paradox of freedom. In Christian terms, it is the paradox expressed by Paul, when he says "for though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more." (1 Corinthians 9:19) He says it again, in an entirely different theological context, in the famous declaration that freedom is the recognition of necessity. For the same paradox holds good, under certain conditions, in the artistic sphere. Machaut's music is "free" not in spite of, but because of the strength of his courtly bondage.

Chapter II

Guillaume de Machaut -- His Life and Works

We have made our first acquaintance with Guillaume de Machaut in the Prologue, where he plays the leading role. But it has been an extremely formal introduction. We have met the official poet, the artist as lover, and he is a figure nearly as abstract as Nature or Love.

It is difficult to look behind this poet's mask. Documents may reveal, for instance, that Machaut sold a horse in 1340,[1] or that he held a canonicate at Reims for many years, but the historical man inevitably eludes us, except as a shadowy outline. But although very little is actually known about his life, this much is incomparably more then is known about most mediaeval composers. Machaut represents, in fact, the first point in music history at which we can really speak of a composer's "life and works." A Léonin or a Petrus de Cruce is scarcely more than a name; and while we are comparatively well informed about Philippe de Vitry's life, only a handful of his motets are preserved.

1 Hoepffner, MO I, xxii.

In spite of the scarcity of information, the facts are enough to indicate that some distinction must be made between the official self-portrait that Machaut paints in his works, and the historical figure. The subject on which the documents are most informative is that of Machaut's connections with the church, and in particular with the cathedral of Reims -- but this connection is never mentioned in his works. It is never Machaut the canon of Reims, but Machaut the lover, the authority on love, the friend of kings and princes, who appears in the poems.[1]

Yet, although the myth of the artist cannot be completely identified with the historical man, neither can an absolute distinction between them be maintained. The limits of art and life, even in periods when the contrast between them seems greatest, are fluid, and each may invade the domain of the other. The tremendous influence of art on life in the late middle ages is demonstrated in page after page of Huizinga's brilliant study:

> "The dream of past perfection ennobles life and its forms, fills them with beauty and fashions them anew as forms of art. Life

1 Cf. Hoepffner, MO I, xxvi.

is regulated like a noble game."[1]

Kings found orders of chivalry to embody their highest aspirations, although these ideals have lost contact with historical realities. Even the stereotyped patterns of conduct established by courtly love are not entirely fictional. Or at least the fiction is sometimes acted out in real life. The court of love founded, supposedly, by Charles VI in 1400, 23 years after Machaut's death, "instituée à l'honneur des dames," had ministers in charge of rhetoric and poetry, whose responsibility it was to present ballades and other poems to the court.[2]

As the forms of life may reflect art, art in its turn reflects life. In Machaut, however, the reflection is a dim one, and the mirror of fiction flattering. Life in the late middle ages may bear "the mixed smell of blood and roses,"[3] but Machaut's poems exude only the scent of roses. To be sure, Machaut's practice of introducing historical characters (including himself) into his fictions represents a

1 J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages. A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries (London, 1924), 30.

2 A. Piaget, "La Cour amoureuse dite de Charles VI," Romania 20 (1891), 422.

3 Huizinga, op. cit., 18.

kind of realism, a tension of fiction and reality. His imaginary gardens have real people in them. But reality is so purified and reshaped to conform with fiction, that the poetic effect is not so much one of realism as of its opposite. The character of Machaut in his own works is drained of historical concreteness. He enters his own poems to play a role, that of the Amant of the Roman de la Rose. (His Amant is usually more sophisticated, more knowing than that of the Roman -- having already been indoctrinated by the god of Love, he speaks with greater authority, in a more didactic tone.) The fictional world of Machaut's poems owes little to historical reality. Only the Voir Dit has a strong realistic basis, so strong that it all but destroys the fictional frame into which Machaut tries to force it.

ii

Although a review of the known facts of Machaut's life and a survey of the works cannot shed much light on his historical personality, they are nonetheless worth making. As we have seen, facts about the life of the musician in the middle ages are scarce, and, under the circumstances, we ought to consider what

glimpses we can get of Machaut's life a rare chance. Such a review, moreover, can illuminate certain aspects of his artistic career (and it is his artistic career, after all, which most interests us), in particular, his relation to his audience, of which his patrons constituted a most important part. Finally, such a survey will provide a framework for a discussion of the chronology of his works, and a discussion of those passages in his poems which bear on musical problems, to be taken up in later chapters.

The discovery of certain documents in the Vatican archives, published by Thomas in 1881,[1] renders obsolete much that is contained in the early biographical studies of Machaut. It will serve no useful purpose to review here the confusions of Guillaume de Machaut with a Guillelmus de Machello, a Guilhelmus de Macholio, or with the son of Pierre de Machaut who was still a minor in 1318.[2] The Vatican documents, however, are valuable for what they tell not only of Machaut's position as a churchman, but of his relations to his patrons. In a bull of 1330, Machaut, at the request

1 A. Thomas, "Extraits des archives du Vatican pour servir à l'histoire littéraire," Romania 10 (1881), 321.

2 These confusions are discussed in Hoepffner, MO I, xi, xii; in Chichmaref, MP I, vi-xi; and in Thomas, loc. cit., 327, 328.

of the King of Bohemia "pro clerico, elemosinario et familiari suo domestico" is promised a canonicate at the cathedral of Verdun.[1] Even before this, the bull further reveals, Guillaume had been the recipient of ecclesiastical favor, and held a perpetual chaplaincy at the hospital of Housdain.[2] In 1332 he is awarded another canonicate at Arras,[3] and in 1333 one at Reims. But when pope Benedict XII was crowned in 1335, one of his earliest reforms was an attempt to correct the abuse of "expectatives." Machaut, who had not yet taken possession of any of the promised benefices, was a victim of the reforming zeal of the new pope, who revoked the promised canonicates at Arras and Verdun, leaving him only the one at Reims.[4] He was permitted to keep his chaplaincy at Housdain until he had taken possession of the canonicate at Reims, and to retain a canonicate at St. Quentin in Vermandois, which he did not owe to papal favor.[5]

The bull of 1335 enables us to date the time of Machaut's entrance into the service of the king of

1 Thomas, loc. cit., 327, 328.
2 Hoepffner, MO I, xix.
3 Thomas, loc. cit., 328.
4 Ibid., 329.
5 Hoepffner, MO I, xx.

Bohemia, and thus provides one of the first points of reference for his biography. In the bull he is said to have been in the service of the king for about 12 years, i.e., since 1323.[1] In the following year, in 1324, he composed a motet in honor of the new archbishop of Reims, Guillaume de Trie.[2] This is the first of his works that can be dated. (Motet 18: Bone pastor Guillerme - Bone pastor.)

Nothing is known of Machaut's life before 1323, of his birth, or of his education. He was probably born about 1300.[3] The very fact that the documents make no mention of his origins seems to indicate that he was not of noble birth.[4] The only title that Machaut assumes in his works is that of a simple "clerc,"[5] but in other documents he is called "maître."[6]

1 Machaut apparently exaggerates the length of his service in the Prise d'Alexandrie where he states that he served the king of Bohemia for more than 30 years. (l. 785) Since the king was killed at Crécy in 1346, this would mean that he entered his service in 1316. Cf. Chichmaref, MP I, xi, xii. The testimony of the bull must be considered more reliable than Machaut's on this point.
2 Hoepffner, MO I, xv.
3 Ibid., xii; Chichmaref, MP I, xii.
5 Fonteinne Amoureuse, ll. 139-142.
4 Hoepffner, MO I, xii.
6 Hoepffner, MO I, xiii.

This suggests that he had pursued theological studies at the university, and received the degree of "magister."

> "He doubtless owed his intimate connection with powerful lords not to his origins but to the ecclesiastical dress which obliterated differences of class and birth"[1]

-- and, even more, to his artistic genius.

The first of Machaut's mighty patrons was John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, who is one of the most picturesque figures of fourteenth century history. Machaut, to judge at least from his delicate and refined poetic personality, must have been a strange companion to the adventurous monarch, whom Carlyle described as a "restless, ostentatious, far-grasping, strong-handed man, who kept the world in a stir wherever he went."[2] His ceaseless campaigns and excursions carried him over all of Europe, to France, Italy, Poland, Lithuania, the German Empire. So rapid were his sudden shifts from place to place, that a contemporary chronicler, mentioning the difficulty of keeping up with him, described him as "flying, rather than riding."[3] Machaut, who was

1 Hoepffner, MO I, xii.
2 Thomas Carlyle, Collected Works (London, Chapman and Hall, 1870), vol. XXI, 172.
3 Emil Vieken, Johann von Böhmen. Eine studie zum romantischen Rittertum des 14. Jahrhunderts (Göttingen, 1932), 59.

his secretary,[1] accompanied him on at least some of his travels. His ecclesiastical duties need not have interfered with these journeys, since it was common for sovereigns to obtain from the pope the privilege of non-residence for clerks in their service.[2] The king of Bohemia, who had the highest admiration for French culture and the brilliant court at Paris,[3] probably met Machaut on one of his frequent visits to France. In the Confort d'Ami and the Prise d'Alexandrie Machaut describes lands which he presumably saw on his travels with the king.[4]

John of Luxemburg is praised as an ideal monarch throughout Machaut's works. In the Prise d'Alexandrie, written a quarter of a century after the good king's death, Machaut still sings his praises:

1 Hoepffner, MO I, xv, note 3; Thomas, loc. cit., 332.

3 R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V (Paris, 1909-1931, 5 vols.), I, 4. Delachenal doubts, however, that the king was educated in France, as some have maintained.

4 Further details of John of Bohemia's travels can be found in MP I, xvi, ff., and A. Prioult, "Un poète voyageur: Guillaume de Machaut et la 'Reise' de Jean l'Aveugle, roi de Bohême, en 1328-1329," Les Lettres Romanes IV (1950), 3.

2 Thomas, loc. cit., 329.

"Cils Behaignons dont je vous conte,
N'ot pareil, duc, ne roy, ne conte;
Ne depuis le temps Charlemeinne,
Ne fu homs, c'est chose certeinne,
Qui fust en tous cas plus parfais
En honneur, en dis et en fais."[1]

He was famous for his generosity (always an acceptable trait in a patron), "... donat larga munera, instaurat convivia largissima cum expensa ..."[2] Machaut is full of praise for his "largesse," and mentions the many times that he distributed money in the name of the king.[3]

Yet Machaut never refers to the episode of the king's career which is most striking to the imagination, his glorious death at the battle of Crécy in 1346, fighting at the side of the French nobility, when the king, stone-blind, demanded to be led into the thick of the battle, "assez avant pour n'en plus revenir."[4] There is some evidence that Machaut left the king's service before 1346 and that he was living peacefully in Reims.[5] But this fact alone would not

1 Prise d'Alexandrie, Mas-Latrie, ed., 24-25.
2 Ficken, op. cit., 59, note.
3 Confort d'Ami, ll. 2930, ff. "Il donnoit fiez, joiaus et terre,/ Or, argent, riens ne retenoit/ Fors l'onneur; ad ce se tenoit,/ Et il en avoit plus que nuls."
4 Delachenal, op. cit., I, 23.
5 In 1340 the sale of a horse is recorded (MO I, xxiii), and in 1346 Machaut is listed among the canons of Reims and taxed for his prebend (Ibid., xxv).

be enough to account for Machaut's silence, since reports of the event would doubtless have reached him. The king's death required epic and tragic handling. Machaut, if we assume that he was aware of his poetic limitations, may have realized that it lay beyond the narrow range of subjects to which his style was suited.

iii

The beginning of Machaut's artistic career coincides approximately with the period of his service under John of Luxemburg. They are productive years for Machaut.[1] Although his earliest datable work is the motet of 1324, in honor of the new archbishop of Reims, his talent must already have shown evidence sufficient to attract the attention of so important a patron. His works, from the earliest period of his career on, can be divided into three main categories: lyric poems not set to music; musical forms; and narrative-didactic poems. It is chiefly with this latter group that we shall be concerned in this chapter.

Four of Machaut's longer poems, the Dit dou Vergier,

1 Cf. the table at the end of the following chapter.

the Jurement dou Roy de Behaigne, the Remede de Fortune, and the Dit dou Lyon, were written during the lifetime of the king of Bohemia. The earliest of these, the Dit dou Vergier, has been called a "servile imitation" of the Roman de la Rose,[1] an influence which, though less direct in later works, is present in virtually all of Machaut's poetry. The Dit dou Vergier is a love allegory, which unfolds in a dream vision, set in the traditional garden, in the traditional season, spring. The narrative thread is very slender; the poet-lover, speaking in the first person, tells of his entry into the garden, his encounter with the god of Love, and his awakening. Machaut's interest, here as in later works, is more didactic than narrative. Most of the poem is taken up by the long speech of Love, who reveals to the poet his powers, his allegorical friends and enemies, and advises him of the conduct proper to a lover. The speech parallels a similar lecture in the Roman de la Rose. In strengthening this didactic element, already present in his model, Machaut produces a more static allegory.

1 Hoepffner, MO I, lvi.

It is the second of Machaut's longer poems, the Jugement dou Roy de Behaigne, which seems to have established his literary reputation. Not only was it more frequently reproduced in manuscripts than any other of his narrative poems,[1] but it made a deep impression on the generation of writers following Machaut.[2] The problem of love casuistry raised by the poem apparently aroused enough discussion to make Machaut reopen the debate in the Jugement dou Roy de Navarre. Machaut overhears a discussion between a melancholy pair, a knight whose lady has been unfaithful to him, and a lady whose lover is dead. They argue lengthily over which is the most unhappy. Machaut proposes that they let the king of Bohemia arbitrate their quarrel, supporting his proposal with high praises of his master. Even while he is engaged in flattering his patron, Machaut tailors reality to conform to the demands of his fiction. He of course mentions the King's prowess, his generosity, piety

1 See the table in Ludwig, MW II, 43*.
2 In particular on Martin le Franc and Christine de Pisan. On the relation of the Jugement, which Machaut established as a literary form, to the jeu-parti and to other earlier forms, see Hoepffner, LO I, lxi.

and loyalty, but the climax of his eulogy concerns the king's experience in love, which he knows more about than even Ovid![1] Guillaume, the knight, and the lady then proceed to the castle of Durbuy (in Luxemburg) where the king holds his court. They find him seated on a silk cushion, listening to a clerk read of the battle of Troy, surrounded by a court of allegorical figures, Wealth, Love, Beauty, Youth, Honor, Courtesy, Loyalty, Reason, etc. The king, with their help, pronounces a judgment in favor of the knight, declaring that it is he who suffers most. The poem concludes with a description of the entertainment which the king offers his guests.

The Remede de Fortune, which follows the Jugement dou Roy de Behaigne,[2] is one of the three Machaut poems (together with the Prologue and the Voir Dit)

1 Jugement dou Roy de Behaigne, ll. 1324-1327. Cf. Jeanroy, La Poésie des Troubadours, I, 109. "De Guillaume IX, qui regna quarante et un ans sur un territoire équivalent au tiers de la France et fut mêlé aux évènements les plus graves, que sait nous dire son biographe? Rien, sinon que 'ce fut un des hommes les plus courtois du monde, et les plus habiles à tromper les femmes ... et que longtemps il courut le monde pour tromper les femmes.'"

2 See the following chapter.

of greatest interest to the music historian. The Remede brings together, as it were, all three of the chief categories of Machaut's composition, narrative, lyric, and musical, for he interspersed his narrative with musical settings of lyrics. Such interweaving of songs and narrative is not, however, an innovation of Machaut. The practice can be traced as far back as the beginning of the 13th century, to the author of Guillaume de Dole, who interspersed his poem with dance songs,[1] not, however, of his own composition, for the collection includes songs of Gace Brulé and of Ventadour. Le roman du castelain de Couci et de la dame de Fayel contains seven songs of the famous trouvère, while other romances like the Roman de la Violette, the Roman de la poire, Cléomades, Escanor, etc., include refrains and songs.[2] Le dit de la pantière d'amours of Nicole de Largival brings us closer to the Remede since the lyrics it contains

1 Jean Renart, Le roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole, ed. G. Servois (Paris, 1893, SATF); Friedrich Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen aus dem XII., dem XIII. und dem ersten Drittel des XIV. Jahrhunderts mit den überlieferten Melodien (Dresden, 1921, 1927, 2 vols.) II, p. 1. The only manuscript transmits the poem, unfortunately, without musical notation.

2 Gennrich, op. cit., II, 183 and 141, ff.

are of the author's own composition.[1] The use of songs in courtly romances is, indeed, most appropriate, since music, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, is a powerful symbol for the harmony of love. Both the 13th century romances and Machaut's Remede, moreover, testify to the important place that music enjoyed in courtly society.

Machaut's use of lyric interludes is more systematic than that of any of his predecessors. Each of the seven musical compositions contained in the Remede is in a different form: a lai, a complainte, a chanson roial, a baladeille, a balade, a virelai, and a rondeau. He evidently wished to provide his readers with an example, a model, of each of the musical-poetic genres of the period, genres whose contemporary forms were largely his own creation. From a literary point of view the Remede has been called the first of Machaut's works to reveal fully his poetic individuality.[2] Machaut assumes, at the same time, the cloak of musical

1 Gennrich, op. cit., II, 225; Hoepffner, "Les poésies lyriques du Dit de la panthère d'amours de Nicole de Margival," Romania 46 (1920), 204.
2 Hoepffner, MO II, iii.

authority.

Fortune, the subject of the Remede, had been a favorite with writers from antiquity on,[1] but it had special fascination for the late middle ages and for Machaut's contemporaries.[2] The disasters suffered by France in the 14th century could well give rise to speculation about Fortune. In 1361 Petrarch, who also had written a Remedius utriusque Fortunae, was sent by Galeas Visconti as an ambassador to John II of France, to compliment him on his release from English captivity, and to present him with two rings, one of which had been taken from him at the battle of Poitiers. Petrarch chose to speak on the inconstancy of Fortune, whom he blamed for the king's captivity.[3] In Machaut's works Fortune appears not only in the Remede, but also in the Voir Dit, in two of his most popular musical compositions, the motet, "Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie - Ha! Fortune" (Lr. 8), and the ballade "De Fortune me doy plaindre et loer" (Lr. 23), and in frequent passing references.

1 M. R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature (Cambridge, 1927).

2 Cf. Hoepffner, MO II, xvi, fr., on earlier 13th and 14th century discussions of Fortune.

3 Delaborde, op. cit., II, 270. In a letter of the following year, Petrarch praised the intelligence of the young dauphin, the future Charles V, and Machaut's patron, on this occasion.

Machaut, however, is interested less in the fortune of war or politics than in the fortune of love. The lover of the Remede becomes a victim of Fortune in consequence of a lai he composed to honor his beloved. The lai somehow falls into her hands; she makes the lover read it to her and wants to know who wrote it. This presents a real dilemma, since to admit that he wrote it would be to risk disapproval and rejection, and to deny it would be to lie. The helpless lover can only stand speechless, and finally leaves in tears. He retires to a park, where he utters a long complainte against Fortune. This provokes the appearance of Hope, whose discussions with the lover constitute the allegorical core of the poem. Hope is the "remedy to Fortune;" she consoles the lover and answers all his charges against Fortune.

For the student of Machaut's music, the interest of the Remede lies not so much in the sections most relevant to its chief subject, but, as we have mentioned before, in its musical interludes, and in its concluding section. For here, as the lover is reunited with his lady and her friends, Machaut paints a delightful picture of a morning's activities in polite society: dancing to unaccompanied songs (ll. 3416-3504), exchanging amorous pleasantries (ll. 3878-3884), attending

a mass before dinner (ll. 3889-3903), dining, listening to an after dinner concert of instrumental music (ll. 3957-3986), and passing the time with more dancing, games, and music, until wine and spices are brought and the time comes for the company to take leave of each other (ll. 3987-4016). Suffice it to say, for the present, that the whole scene vividly suggests the kind of environment in which music like Machaut's was enjoyed and performed.

Little need be said of the two poems which follow the Remede in the manuscripts and, in all probability, chronologically: the Dit dou Lyon, of 1342, and the Dit de l'Alerion, which was written sometime between 1342 and 1349. From a literary point of view, they illustrate the increasing range of Machaut's allegory. The personifications of the Roman de la Rose are no longer the principal ingredients of the allegory. The allegory of the Dit dou Lyon is superimposed on a story which uses motifs of the courtly romance,[1] while the allegorical methods of the Dit de l'Alerion are related to those of the bestiaries.

1 Cf. MO II, lviii, ff.

iv

John of Bohemia had died at Crécy in 1346. For a few years after his death, Machaut may have been in the service of his daughter, Bonne of Luxembourg, wife of the future king of France, John II.[1] Bonne, however, died in 1349, and Machaut was not long in finding another royal protector in Charles II, King of Navarre. The Machiavellian character of Machaut's new patron presents a striking contrast to that of the chivalric king of Bohemia. But in 1349, when Machaut wrote the Jugement dou Roy de Navarre in his honor, the young king, who was then seventeen, had just taken possession of his kingdom,[2] and had not yet exhibited any of the traits which were later to earn him his well-deserved surname, "the Bad." Charles' patronage was also extended to Guillaume's brother, Jean de Machaut, for whom he requested a canonicate at Toul.[3]

The Jugement dou Roy de Navarre is a palinode to the earlier Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne. Machaut's

1 LO I, xxx. Machaut mentions having served Bonne in the Prise d'Alexandrie.
2 Ibid., I, xxxi.
3 Ibid., I, xxxii; Thomas, loc. cit., 329. Scarcely anything is known of this brother.

solution had evidently aroused protests;[1] he is called to account before the allegorical court of the king of Navarre, and is made to recant his former judgment. As the poem begins, it is late autumn, and the poet is alone in his room, overwhelmed by melancholy reflections on the present state of the world. He meditates on the ravages of the war, the persecution of the Jews, the religious mania of the Flagellants, and finally, the terrors of the plague. This introduction is one of the very rare passages in Machaut's work where a somber contemporary setting is effectively contrasted with the timeless dream-like setting of the allegory.

In 1357 Machaut wrote a second long poem for Charles, the Confort d'Ami, consoling him on his imprisonment. Charles had married in 1350 Jeanne, the daughter of John II, king of France,[2] but his relations with his father-in-law were never cordial. In 1356 Charles was arrested and held a prisoner for two years at the order of the king. It was this occasion which inspired Machaut to write a poem of consolation to the royal prisoner. The motives which

1 Navarre, ll. 811, ff.
2 Delachenal, op. cit., I, 61.

lay behind the imprisonment here always remained obscure. At the time, public sympathy was with Charles, and his imprisonment aggravated the consequences of the defeat of Poitiers.[1] It was in the following years that Charles of Navarre became the open enemy of the house of France, allying himself with Etienne Marcel in the Paris uprisings, with the English in their war against France, negotiating with both sides when it served his advantage. But after 1357 there is no further trace of him in Machaut's work. Unlike John of Bohemia, whose name and reputation Machaut continues to evoke, Charles is completely forgotten. The reasons for Machaut's silence may have been more practical than patriotic. As Hoepffner suggests, he probably saw where his advantage lay, and chose to cast his lot with the house of France.[2]

Machaut's next long poem, the Fontaine Amoureuse, is dedicated to John, duke of Berry, the third son of the French king, and the most famous bibliophile and art connoisseur of the middle ages. In temperament and character he must have been more congenial

1 Delachenal, op. cit., I, 144, ff., 157.
2 MO I, xxiii, xxiv.

to Machaut than any other of his patrons. Machaut's previous patrons, John of Bohemia and Charles of Navarre, were both primarily vigorous men of action (whatever their differences in other respects.) The duke of Berry and his brother Charles, who also became Machaut's patron, were, in contrast, less given to military exploits than to the study of books and works of art. The younger brother, however, not having the grave responsibilities and cares which Charles had had to shoulder at an early age when his father was captured at Poitiers, had more leisure to indulge his passion for books and expensive art objects. Of somewhat less serious disposition than his older brother, the gallant duke must have approximated Machaut's ideal of the perfect courtier. "Jolis estoit," wrote Christine de Pisan, "amoureux et de moult joyeuse condicion."[1] Machaut was represented in the Duke's magnificent library along with Christine de Pisan (whom the Duke also patronized), Boethius, Ovid, Virgil, Terence, Seneca, St. Augustine, Froissart, Boccaccio, Petrarch (in translation), and many chivalric romances. It seems appropriate that the owner of the

1 Christine de Pisan, Le livre des Faiz et Bonnes Meurs du Sage Roy Charles V, ed. S. Solente (Paris, 1936, 2 vols.), I, 141.

2 Jules Guiffrey, Inventaires de Jean Duc de Berry 1401-1416 (Paris, 1894, 2 vols.), I, cxlii, ff.

famous Book of the Hours should also have owned the most beautiful of the Machaut manuscripts.[1] The Fontaine Amoureuse is the only work which Machaut explicitly dedicated to John, duke of Berry, although he is listed among the creditors of the duke as late as 1371.[2]

When the Fontaine Amoureuse was written (between 1360 and 1362) Machaut was already on intimate terms with Charles, duke of Normandy, John's older brother, who became king in 1364. In 1361, when political affairs called Charles to Reims, he ordered the aldermen of the town to visit him at his lodgings "chez maistre Guillyaume de Machault."[3] Machaut was apparently employed by Charles in some capacity, perhaps as a secretary. In the Voir Dit he calls Charles his "droit sirreur," "Car fais suis de sa nourriture,/ Et suis sa droite créature."[4] Machaut addresses one of his complaintes to a king, a "gentils roys," whose secretary he is. The work may be dated c. 1364,[5] and is probably addressed to Charles, although,

1 The manuscript B, which is, unfortunately, also the most faulty. After the death of the duke of Berry it passed into the library of the duke of Burgundy. (Ludwig, MW II, 11*).
2 MO I, xxxix.
3 Ibid., I, xxv.
4 Voir Dit, ed. P. Paris, 136.
5 MO I, xxxv, xxxvi, and following chapter.

since the date is only approximate, the king in question might possibly be Charles' father, John II.

Charles V, "le sages roy," like his brother, the duke of Berry, was famous for his interest in letters, and, as a student, had an even greater reputation than John. "Ne dirons nous encore de la sagece du roy Charles," wrote his biographer, Christine de Pisan, "la grant amour qu'il avoit à l'estude et à la science; et qu'il soit ainsi bien le demoustroit par la belle assemblée des notables livres et belle librarie, qu'il avoit de tous les plus notables volumes..."[1] Christine goes on to speak of his interest in translation, an interest which he may have inherited from his father, John II, who had had Pierre Bersuire make translations of Livy.[2] At the wish of Charles V, Nicolas Oresme produced some of the best work of translation of the period, translating the Ethics and Politics of Aristotle from the Latin.[3] Charles' library in the Louvre included a number of music manuscripts, although none which can be identified with

1 Christine de Pisan, op. cit., II, 42.
2 Léopold Delisle, Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V (Paris, 1907, 2 vols.), I, 32, ff.
3 Ibid.

Machaut's work.[1] Christine, praising the king's understanding of the liberal arts, tells us that he had a fine ear:

> "He understood so well every aspect of music, which is the science of harmonizing sounds by notes and minims, that no discord could pass unperceived by him."[2]

On his death bed, it is said, "pro consolatione spirituali ad organa dulces sonos et Dei laudes modulantia se convertit."[3]

Machaut's patrons were not exclusively kings and princes. His works also found favor in the eyes of other nobles. There is a record of a payment of 300 crowns made to Machaut by Amadeus VI, count of Savoy, for a poem.[4] Deschamps, who delivered a copy of the Voir Dit to the count of Flanders, wrote Machaut a ballade assuring him: "Les grans seigneurs,

1 Delisle, op. cit., II, 25, 51, 198, fr., 269; Ludwig, MK II, 42*, note.

2 Christine de Pisan, op. cit., II, 34. "De musique, qui est la science des sons accorder par notes et par minimes, entendoit tous les poins si entierement que aucun descort ne lui peust estre nucie." I take "par notes et par minimes" to refer respectively to the harmonic and rhythmic aspects of music.

3 André Pirro, La musique à Paris sous le règne de Charles VI (1368-1422) (Strasbourg, 1930), p. 1.

4 MO I, xxvii.

Guillaume, vous ont chier."[1]

There is, unfortunately, very little information about Machaut's contacts with other artists, with his fellow "Champenois," Vitry and Deschamps, or with his most famous disciple, Geoffrey Chaucer. Machaut mentions none of them, but it seems certain that he was well acquainted at least with Deschamps. The author of the Règles de seconde rhétorique goes so far as to call Deschamps the nephew of Machaut.[2] In the ballade which Deschamps wrote to the heroine of the Voir Dit after Machaut's death, he invokes the memory of the "noble poète ... qui m'a nourry et fait maintes douçeurs,"[3] and Hoepffner believes that he probably served a poetic apprenticeship to Machaut.[4]

It is much less certain the Machaut ever met Chaucer, although he might have done so at one time. Chaucer fought with the English army in France in

1 Deschamps, Oeuvres, I, 248, 249. When Deschamps was asked to read parts of the work, he chose first the passage on Fortune — another sign of the subject's fascination for Machaut's contemporaries.

2 Règles, ed. Langlois, 14. "Après vint Eustache Morel, nepveux de maistre Guillaume de Machault, lequel fut bailli de Senliz, et fut très soufisant de dis et balades et d'aultres choses."

3 Deschamps, Oeuvres, III, 259.

4 Hoepffner, Deschamps, 26.

1359-1360, and was taken prisoner near Reims.[1] It is tempting to assume that the young and as yet little known English poet was able to meet the old and famous poet of Reims, but it cannot be proved.

Nor is there any record of Machaut's acquaintance with the versatile Philippe de Vitry, whose work as a musician greatly influenced Machaut's early musical career. Vitry, like Machaut, was in close contact with the Parisian court. From 1346 on, Vitry was frequently employed by John II as a counsellor and ambassador,[2] and in 1350 he was sent to Avignon as John's emissary to Pope Clement VI.[3] Machaut had, as we have seen, at least indirect contact with John, through his wife, Bonne of Luxembury, the daughter of the king of Bohemia; and through his sons, Charles, duke of Normandy (later Charles V) and John, duke of Berry, all of whom Machaut included among his employers.

Machaut's last long poem, the Prise d'Alexandrie, was inspired by the assassination of Pierre de Lusignan,

1 F. N. Robinson, ed., The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Houghton Mifflin, 1933), xvi, xvii.

2 A. Coville, "Philippe de Vitri. Notes Biographiques," Romania 59 (1933), 520; A. Machabey, "Notice sur Philippe de Vitry," RM 10 (1929), 24.

3 Coville, loc. cit., 529; Machabey, loc. cit., 25.

lius of Cyprus and of Jerusalem, in 1369, and is a verse chronicle of the life of the King. Machaut's artistic production seems to decline in his last years. He died in April, 1377, and was buried in the cathedral of Reims.[1] Deschamps lamented his death in a double ballade which was set to music by Andrieu.[2] It is an extravagant tribute to the poet-musician who, according to Deschamps:

> "Onques d'amours ne parla en folie.
> Ains a esté en tous ses dis courtois,
> Aussi a moult plet sa chanterie ..."

Machaut's art was "courtly" in the same double sense as that of the troubadours. Not only does it take courtly love as its subject, but it is composed almost exclusively for an aristocratic society, "rarely for the bourgeoisie, never for the people."[3] Deschamps, to be sure, in the ballade just quoted, says that Machaut's music pleased great lords, ladies, and bourgeois -- but that is simply a way of saying that it pleased everybody. It is difficult to understand why Gaston Paris, and other French scholars, have claimed that Machaut's poetry found

1 MO I, xliii.
2 Published in MM I, 49-51.
3 Joseph Anglade, Les Troubadours (Paris, 1927), p. 14.

special favor with the bourgeois.[1] Like Machaut, Deschamps is interested solely in the poetic forms popular in aristocratic milieux. In the Art de Dictier he refuses to discuss the servantois at any length:

> "Et pour ce que c'est ouvrage qui se porte au puis d'amours, et que nobles hommes n'ont pas acoustumé de ce faire, n'en feiz cy aucun autre exemple."[2]

The bourgeois puis lie outside of the main poetic development of the fourteenth century. They cultivate mostly religious poetry, seldom secular.[3]

Machaut's protectors thus included many of the most famous figures of his time, men famous not only for political or military skill but, as in the case of the two sons of John II, famous as connoisseurs of art and men of learning. A study of Machaut's biography confirms what we might suspect from the very

1 Gaston Paris, La Poésie du Moyen Age (Paris, 1895, 2 vols.), II, 290: "Mais au XIVe siècle la nouvelle poétique plaît surtout aux bourgeois, qui sont ravis de pouvoir, grâce aux formules de Machaut, faire de la poésie aussi bien confectionnée que n'importe qui. Aussi fondent-ils partout des sociétés ou puis, qui couronnent leurs oeuvres et maintiennent les règles de l'art." Chaurand, Les Origines..., 74, labels the movement inaugurated by Machaut "bourgeois lyricism."

2 Deschamps, Oeuvres, VII, 281.

3 Gustav Gröber, Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, II. Band, 1. Abteilung, p. 1041.

refinement of his art -- that his works were addressed to an exclusive, highly cultivated audience.

V

In the Prologue, Machaut dedicated his work to the praise of ladies, and his chief wish was to please them. It is thus fitting that the greatest admirer of his art was not a king or a prince, but the young and beautiful lady whom he celebrates in the Voir Dit.

Of Machaut's poems from about 1349 on, the Voir Dit is the most revealing, artistically and biographically. Although in some respects an artistic failure, it is certainly the most interesting of all Machaut's literary works. Since it is also a somewhat obscure work, a summary will perhaps be useful.

The strange love affir recounted in the Voir Dit is initiated by a young girl who has never seen Machaut, and who has fallen in love with him solely through hearing of him and of his works. She sends him a rondeau beginning: "She who has never seen you/ and who loves you loyally/ Gives you all her heart."[1] The girl, whom Machaut always refers to

1 Voir Dit, ed. P. Paris, p. 7.

as "Toute-Belle" (like the troubadours, who used "senhals" in addressing their mistresses), is young -- between fifteen and twenty years old[1] -- beautiful, accomplished, and of noble family. Machaut, at the time, is just recovering from a long illness, and (as we learn later) suffers from gout and is blind in one eye.[2] He is quick to reply to Toute-Belle's rondeau, and the power of this new love is great enough to make him partially recover from his illness.[3] Another messenger brings him the lady's first letter: she begs him to correct her work, to set it to music, and to send it to her with some of his musical works.[4]

The correspondence and exchange of love lyrics flourish rapidly. (Copies of the letters and lyrics are inserted in the poem.) Toute-Belle sends Machaut her portrait, but various difficulties delay their actual meeting. The young girl is not free to travel alone, although she writes that if she were only a man she would lose no time in coming to see Machaut. Machaut is, at first, too ill to travel, and is further delayed by the unsettled state of the countryside, which is occupied by the armed bands of the "Grande

1 Voir Dit, 84.
2 Ibid., 118.
3 Ibid., 13.
4 Ibid., 16.

compagnie."[1]

But the poet, who has vowed a pilgrimage to a place not far from Toute-Belle's home, is at last able to bring about the long-desired meeting. The girl receives him graciously, and although Machaut is overcome by the lover's traditional timidity and trembling, by their second meeting he is bold enough to steal a kiss from his lady as she lies asleep (but only after his secretary and confidant has encouraged him to it by placing a leaf over the girl's lips and telling him to kiss the leaf). During the week that he visits with her, he waits for her every morning in the garden, piously reading his hours until she comes.[2]

While Machaut accomplishes his novena, Toute-Belle comes to see him, and attends mass with him, giving him a kiss during the Agnus Dei,[3] a pronunciation of the ancient liturgical "kiss of peace."[4] But the lovers are separated again, first by a trip that Toute-Belle makes, and then by Machaut's duties to his lord, the duke of Normandy. The exchange of letters is evidently continued during these periods of separation.

1 Voir Dit, 69.
2 Ibid., 98.
3 Ibid., 110.
4 By the fourteenth century, the actual kiss had been replaced by the use of a "pax" or "osculatorium," an ornamented tablet which was kissed by the assisting clergy and then passed to the congregation.

When they meet again, Machaut has learned that Toute-Belle owes a pilgrimage to St. Denis, and proposes that he accompany her. A party of four, including Toute-Belle's sister and a cousin, gaily sets out. The demands of religion and those of love are easily satisfied simultaneously; indeed, as one of the most noted historians of the period points out, "the usage of making a trysting-place of the church by young men and women was so universal that only moralists were scandalized by it," while "as to pilgrimages, moralists and satirists are of one mind; people often go 'pour folle plaisance.'"[1]

After the lady has made her devotions, the party stops at a town called "La Chapelle,"[2] where, with some difficulty, they find a room with two beds. The sister sleeps in one of them, and after much entreaty, Machaut is persuaded to lie down in the other between his beloved and her companion.[3] In spite of the awkwardness of the situation (which one would imagine to be considerable) the lovers manage to exchange such embraces as are consistent with "honneur."[4]

1 Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, 110.
2 Voir Dit, 144.
3 Ibid., 146.
4 Ibid., 148.

Machaut's account of the rest of the pleasant journey includes a description of an outdoor feast, which was enlivened by musical interludes, lais, and virelais.[1]

At the end of the trip, Machaut is allowed to visit Toute-Belle as she awakens. Venus enfolds the lovers in a cloud "and the narrative gives us to understand that she refused him nothing. She gives him the golden key of her honor, to guard that treasure, or what was left of it."[2]

But this is the last meeting of the lovers. Although the story is not yet half over, the falling action begins already. And, as critics of the Voir Dit have commented, from this point on Machaut begins to pad his tale rather noticeably with allegory, mythological examples, and dream visions. Indeed Machaut confesses at several points that he has had to abandon the work for lack of material.[3] For a while the correspondence, and the exchange of love tokens[4] continues as before. Machaut writes Toute-Belle that several mighty lords have learned of their love, and sent a chaplain to him with orders to bring back

1 Voir Dit, 150, 151.
2 Huizinga, op. cit., 110.
3 Voir Dit, 238, 363.
4 Ibid., 195.

copies of the lyrics they have exchanged.[1] The progress of Toute-Belle's book (the Voir Dit) which Machaut is working on is frequently spoken of.

The first note of discord is sounded when Toute-Belle informs Machaut that she and her sister are planning to leave their present home temporarily, because the dangers of the plague are too great. She hopes that Machaut will be able to visit her, but in the meantime requests him not to write until he has had news of her.[2] Yet over two months pass by without a word, and the unhappy poet begins to worry![3] He dreams one night that her picture has turned away from him, and instead of blue, symbolizing fidelity, is wearing green, symbolizing fickleness. But in his dream vision he is consoled by a king who proves very learnedly that his dream means little, and indeed, on awakening, he finds the picture sweetly smiling at him.[4] He is further consoled by receiving at last a long letter; his doubts, however, are not wholly allayed.[5] Toute-Belle is wounded by his suspicions,

1 Voir Dit, 189
2 Ibid., 206.
3 Ibid., 212.
4 Ibid., 233.
5 Ibid., 240, 241.

and protests her loyalty.

The correspondence is resumed as before, but the letters become shorter, and the doubts more frequent. Although Toute-Belle's enthusiasm seems rather tepid, another meeting is planned.[1] Machaut summons his secretary to make the journey with him. The secretary strongly advises Machaut not to go. The countryside, he tells him, is still full of all kinds of enemies, the weather is bad, and Machaut suffers from gout and generally weak health.

Their argument is interrupted by the arrival of a lord.[2] After some lengthy preliminaries, he informs Machaut that he feels it his duty to give him some advice, though he fears Machaut is so mad with love that his words will be wasted. "Friend," he tells him, "it is indeed God's truth that there is more than one donkey at the fair. For your lady has several lovers -- young, handsome, gay and elegant -- who often visit her. Moreover I assure you that she displays your letters everywhere ... The whole thing is a joke, and everyone is laughing about it. The very wind that blows is not so well known as the story of your deception."[3] Although Machaut is dumbfounded, the lord is a good friend whom he trusts. After the

1 Voir Dit, 281, 282.
2 Ibid., 296.
3 Ibid., 301, 302.

lord has taken his leave, the secretary confesses that he too had had similar suspicions, but had not told his master for fear of incurring his displeasure.[1] A fortnight later, another close friend tells the same story. In a few more weeks, Machaut sets out to visit another lord, "a thousand times greater than the first."[2] No sooner does he see the poor poet than he begins to laugh, saying, "My friend, others have caught the birds in the bushes you're beating."[3] Machaut finds himself an object of universal ridicule. He stops writing letters, and puts away the picture of his lady.

Toute-Belle, disturbed at not hearing from Machaut, writes to reaffirm her loyalty. She fears, moreover, that her reputation will suffer if Machaut drops her.[4] Machaut's resolution wavers and he writes again. He dreams that the picture he had put away appears to him weeping and complaining of her imprisonment. The picture reproaches Machaut for believing too quickly slanderous tales, and proceeds to back up the point by relating the story of Coronis, Apollo, and the raven. This defense, however, seems to give more

1 Voir Dit, 306.
2 Ibid., 307.
3 Ibid., 307.
4 Ibid., 313.

grounds than it gains, since the raven was punished, ironically, for telling the truth. Machaut writes again to Toute-Belle, telling her more of his suspicions. She vigorously denies his charges, and counters with a complaint that he had not come to visit her as he promised.[1] Renewing her vows, she proposes that they forget their differences. The priest who has heard Toute-Belle's confession brings him another letter, drenched with her tears, swears that she is true to him, and turns his accusations of disloyalty against him. Machaut is completely won over, and humbly begs pardon.

Seemingly a complete reconciliation has been effected, but only one more exchange of letters follows. Toute-Belle, in her last letter, speaks of her eagerness to see Machaut -- but requests him not to come until the countryside is safer. She tells him to cease writing to her, except to send her songs (unless he sends the letters by a former messenger who knew their secrets), for she wishes to protect her reputation. Machaut ends with an anagram revealing his own name and that of the lady, praying

1 Voir Dit, 345.

that God may call her soul in glory: "Toute-Belle."[1]

The foregoing account of the Voir Dit hardly suggests the air of mystery that surrounds the work, the many puzzles, gaps, and discrepancies. The chief puzzle concerns the extent to which the work records actual history and is, as it claims to be, a "true story." Such a problem may seem irrelevant to a purely artistic judgment of the poem; but it is of some importance to the music historian. The letters of the Voir Dit contain many references to Machaut's music, to his habits of composition, and judgments of particular works. We are also concerned to know whether the opinions of Machaut's works which Toute-Belle freely expresses are really the opinions of a cultured young admirer of Machaut, or are simply projections of Machaut's own opinions. Who is Toute-Belle? Did she have any real existence outside of

1 Paulin Paris assumed that Toute-Belle was about to marry another, quoting as proof a Machaut ballade which refers to such a situation. (Voir Dit, 406-408). But there is no evidence which links this ballade to the Voir Dit. In any case the ballade (A 231) is contained in the manuscripts of Machaut's middle period, and was therefore written before the completion of the Voir Dit, which is not included in these manuscripts. (See the following chapter.)

Machaut's poem?

There are two anagrams in the poem which tell us the real name of Toute-Belle. The first, a rondeau, is easily solved, and reveals the lady's first name to be Peron(ne).[1] The final anagram, which gives both Machaut's name and that of Toute-Belle, is more difficult. Paulin Paris resolved it as:

Peronel d'Armantiere
Guillaume de Machau[2]

This solution is confirmed by Paulin Paris' further identification of Peronne d'Armantieres as a step-daughter of Jean de Conflans, and still a minor in 1362.[3] Deschamps, moreover, after Machaut's death addressed a ballade to Peronne in which he begged her to let him replace Machaut as her faithful lover.[4]

But Paulin Paris' identification has not been universally accepted. Paulin Paris had been forced to change one reading of all the manuscripts (fame to dame) to arrive at his solution. Suchier, while admitting that the name "Peronne" was confirmed by the rondeau and by the Deschamps ballade, maintained

1 P. Paris, Voir Dit, 266, 267.
2 Ibid., xxiii, 370. The note on p. 370 apparently contains a misprint of Perone for Peronel.
3 Ibid., xxiii, xxiv.
4 Deschamps, Oeuvres, III, 259.

that the final anagram should be read simply: "Guillaume de Machaut amera fille Perronne."[1] Gaston Paris replied, with reason, that this was a most peculiar idiom, and that an alternative solution to the anagram must give some family name.[2]

Suchier's objections were taken up again by Hanf, in a vigorous attack on the authenticity of the whole work. He maintained that the correspondence was wholly invented, basing his argument on the style of the letters, their use of parallelism and artificial phraseology.[3] He placed particular emphasis on the time inconsistencies of the story, discrepancies in the dates of letters and the sequence of events recounted by Machaut. Such inconsistencies, he thought, were more characteristic of fictional than of historical writings. He concluded therefore, that both the letters and poems attributed to Peronne were inventions of Machaut, and Peronne herself but an imaginary mistress.[4]

Hanf's position has been thoroughly refuted in a

1 H. Suchier, "Das Anagramm in Machaut's Voir Dit," ZfRP 21 (1894), 542, 549.

2 G. Paris in Romania 27 (1898), 162. The change of reading does not create a serious objection to P. Paris' solution. (Cf. Hoepffner, MO III, xxvi, on the difficulties of the Fontaine anagram.)

3 O. Hanf, "Ueber Guillaume de Machaut's Voir Dit," ZfRP 22 (1898), 166.

4 Ibid., 195.

dissertation which is one of the best literary studies of any of Machaut's works.[1] Michelberg has been able to establish beyond any possibility of doubt that the correspondence, although "edited" by Machaut in some places, is authentic, and to show the justice of Gröber's description of the Voir Dit as a mixture of "truth and fiction about an experience that is real, though not truthfully rendered."[2]

In the first place, the weight of Paulin Paris' identification cannot be lightly dismissed. The very presence of an anagram, when considered in the light of Machaut's usual practice, strongly suggests that a historical personage is involved. As for the letters, there is no reason to assume, in the absence of any similar correspondence to which they could be compared, that they are more stylized than the normal love letter of the fourteenth century. The letters abound in unmotivated detail and trivial information (Your friend, M., has been in Paris and sends you his best)[3] as well as poetic delarations of love.[4]

1 Walter Michelberg, Dichtung und Wahrheit in Machaut's "Voir Dit" (Frankfurt am Main, 1935).
3 Voir Dit, 195
4 Michelberg, op. cit., 122, ff.
2 Gröber, loc. cit., 1046.

Michelberg's most ingenious and convincing argument for the authenticity of the correspondence concerns the order of the letters. Mochaut himself mentions the difficulty he had in putting the letters in proper order.[1] Paulin Paris, assuming a copyist's error, found it necessary to rearrange some of the earlier letters of the correspondence.[2] The letters which are numbered in his edition II - VII occur in the manuscipts in the order IV, V, VI, VII, II, III.[3] Michelberg is able to show very convincingly that the best order of these letters, when they are examined without regard to the rest of the poem is : IV, V, II, III, VI, VII. But it is impossible to rearrange them in this order without doing violence to the rest of the poem. They are introduced in the poem itself and connected with the surrounding context in the wrong order; and this misteke cannot be that of the copyist, but must be that of the poet himself.[4] The correspondence therefore existed as a whole independently of the poem and prior to it. But some of Hanf's objections to particular details of the correspondence were well taken. Several places in the

1 Voir Dit, 202.
2 P. Paris, Voir Dit, 367, note.
3 Michelberg, op. cit., 15.
4 Ibid., 36, ff.

letters suggest that alterations were made for purposes of concealment, to "bien celer."[1]

It is not possible to come to so definite a conclusion about the lyrics of the Voir Dit, supposedly written and exchanged during thecourse of the love affair.[2] But of the 62 lyrics, over one third are also found in manuscripts which do not contain the Voir Dit and were drawn up before its completion,[3] among the poems of the Louange and the music sections. Two of these, a complainte and a ballade, attributed to Peronne in the Voir Dit, are surely the work of Machaut. Eight of the lyrics found in other manuscripts appear in C, a manuscript that contains only Machaut's early works. These were written therefore long before (some twenty years) the love affair recounted in the Voir Dit. The others, which appear in Vg and M as well as in the manuscripts containing the Voir Dit, may possibly have been written during the course of the love affair. But these too are suspect. Machaut apparently incorporated suitable lyrics from his earlier work, representing them to

1 Nichelberg, op. cit., 111.
2 Nichelberg has comparatively little discussion of this subject.
3 See following chapter.

both his readers and to Peronne as newly composed.[1] Hard put to it to satisfy Peronne's insatiable demands for music and poetry, he occasionally tried to amuse her by sending her old works. She complains in one letter: "I have received the rondel with music which you sent me; but I have seen it before, and am quite familiar with it. So please send me others..."[2]

Finally, Hanf's argument from the inconsistencies of the Voir Dit is easily turned against him. The fact is that the Voir Dit is very unlike Machaut's earlier fictions. Where they are well-organized, clearly motivated, and unambiguous, the Voir Dit is poorly organized, shot through with discrepancies, and often ambiguous (Machaut's farewell scene with Peronne, and the whole ending of the story are outstanding examples). The occasional obscurity of language, the numerous apologies and gloses, are equally uncharacteristic of Machaut's fiction.[3] But "in life, things happen otherwise than in a well-ordered romance."[4] The inconsistencies of the Voir

1 Cf. the presentation of "Gent corps, faitis ...", one of the poems from C.
2 Voir Dit, 250.
3 Wimsatt, op. cit., 82, ff.
4 Ibid., 76.

Dit are the product neither of "reality" nor of "fiction," but of an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the two.

Paulin Paris, who was aware of many of the ironies of the Voir Dit, commented, with regard to Machaut's proposal that Peronne be received in Heaven as "Toute-Belle," that the Voir Dit would hardly merit consideration as a document in support of canonization.[1] But there is deeper irony in the fact that Peronne does not deserve to be canonized even as a saint of love.

The story of Peronne and Machaut violates fundamental precepts of courtly doctrine, precepts which both the Voir Dit and Machaut's earlier works assume as an essential part of their framework. Peronne's actions are not in harmony with the "advice to young ladies" laid down by one of Machaut's ballades:

> "Honte, paour, doubtance de meffaire,
> Attemprance mettre en sa volente,
> Large en refus et lente d'octroy faire,
> Raison, mesure, honneur et honneste
> Doit en son cuer figurer
> Et mesdisans seur toutes riens doubter
> Et en tous fais estre amoureus couarde,
> Qui de s'onneur wet faire bonne garde."[2]

1 Voir Dit, 371, note.
2 MS I, Mell. 25, p. 28.

It is she who takes the initiative throughout the love affair. "Cette Peronnelle est une volonté. Elle construit une oeuvre en même temps qu'une aventure."[1] Every reader feels the force of personality which comes through her letters, quite apart from Machaut's purely conventional descriptions of her. The Voir Dit's editor thought it necessary to explain that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was customary for young bachelors (and presumably old ones, like Machaut) to let the ladies make the first advances -- but this seems to be a purely ad hoc explanation. "We constantly find in the Voir Dit this kind of procedure. Peronnelle d'Unchair first sends a tender message to Guillaume de Machaut; she addresses the first rondeau to him; she writes the first letter; finally she grants him favors which might seem rather considerable before he is bold enough to ask for them." "O mes amis!" concluded Paulin Paris, "c'étoit là le bon temps."[2]

The real point is not, however, that Peronne's conduct is intrinsically improbable, but that it goes against a basic rule of the courtly code:

1 Remy de Gourmont, Promenades Littéraires (Vol. V, Paris, 1912), p. 25.

2 Voir Dit, xxxiii.

"The easy attainment of love makes it of little value; difficulty of attainment makes it prized."[1] It is Peronne, moreover, who commands Machaut (as he says in a number of places) to write the Voir Dit in célebration of their love. She may have hoped, as Paulin Paris noted with real psychological insight, to become a second Laura.[2] Machaut has some misgivings about Peronne's openess, and even reproaches her at one point:

> "Qu'entre gent, partout, et en rue,
> Quant vous dites: 'venés à mi,'
> Vous m'appellez vo dous ami,
> Et volez bien que chascuns sache
> Que vous m'amez; dont je ne cache,
> Quant ensement parler vous voy,
> Que de vo voie me desvoy.
> Uns biens d'amours couvertement
> Donnés, vault .c. ouvertement.
> Je vueil cy finer mon sermon,
> Que trop longuement vous sermon."[3]

The love affair constantly violates the rule of secrecy, and disregards the warning that "when made public love rarely endures."[4] Finally Machaut's code is clearly unable to cope with the fact of Peronne's betrayal, which, although it is denied by the conclusion of the story, has been presented too plainly to be doubted.

1 The Art of Courtly Love, p. 185, rule XIV.
2 Voir Dit, xviii.
3 Ibid., 185.
4 The Art of Courtly Love, p. 185, rule XIII.

Such violations would not be troublesome in some of the courtly romances, where the code does not seem to be so rigidly followed.[1] But Machaut's work assumes the validity of the strict patterns of conduct implicit in the poetry of the troubadours and trouvères and portrayed allegorically in the first part of the Roman de la Rose. In the Voir Dit it is still to this strict code that he adheres explicitly -- but the real story does not fit into this rigid mold. Hence the need for apologies and for obscurity.

Some of these remarks might be taken to imply that the Voir Dit is a subtle and richly ironical work. But such an impression would be misleading. The two levels of the Voir Dit do not reinforce but destroy each other. There is no transcendence, no superior point of view (as there is , for instance, in Chaucer's Troilus, where there is a somewhat similar situation), to reconcile the paradoxes and make them meaningful. Instead there is only an uneasy equilibrium constantly threatening to disintegrate entirely, while the narrator tries, as best he can, to ignore the contradictions. We can see the same dualism, on

1 Cf. Erich Auerbach, Mimesis (Bern, 1946), 139.

another level, when Machaut, after a long and eloquent description of the misfortunes of France, abruptly resumes his official role of lover:

> "Mais toutes ces malëurtés
> Ces pestilences, ces durtés
> Ne font à moy ne froit ne chaut:
> Car, par ma foi, il ne m'en chaut.
> Mais ce me fait pene et anoy
> Que ne voy ma dame ..."[1]

In the Voir Dit Machaut reflects most clearly the dualism of his period. The late middle ages failed at many points to bridge the gap between illusion and reality. Thus "Froissart, himself the author of a super-romantic epic of chivalry, Melliador, narrates endless treasons and cruelties, without being aware of the contradiction between his general conceptions and the contents of his narrative."[2]

Machaut, to judge by his apologetic tone, must have been partially aware of the extent of his failure. There may well be some connection between this awareness and the decline in artistic productivity of his last years. The failure of the Voir Dit represents more than a personal tragedy, or the failure of a single work. It involves a breakdown of the code on which Machaut had based his entire works, and had made,

1 Voir Dit, 223, 224.
2 Huizinga, op. cit., 56.

as we saw in the previous chapter, the cornerstone of his aesthetics. The Voir Dit, which was written about 1364, is the last of Machaut's dits. The Prologue, written after the Voir Dit, while it summarizes and reaffirms the ideals of his previous works, represents, in a sense, Machaut's farewell to courtly love. From then until his death in 1377 he wrote only a handful of lyrics and a long historical poem.

Chapter III

The Chronology of the Works

Although a hundred years have passed since Tarbé published in 1849 the first modern edition of some of Guillaume de Machaut's poetry, the scholar of today is still faced with problems which must be solved before any critical or historical understanding of his works is possible. The most important of these concerns the chronology of the works as a whole. Ernest Hoepffner, in the introductions to the three volumes of Machaut's longer narrative poems, has made a careful and rewarding study of the dating of the poems he edited. But since 1921 no further systematic attempt has been made to date the lyric poetry and the musical works. Hoepffner apparently intended to complete his edition with at least another volume. As Karl Young points out, a more complete study of the manuscripts and the poet's language is promised in volume I.[1] Friedrich Ludwig died before the last volume of the edition of the musical works (to contain the mass and lais) could appear, and that

1 Karl Young, "The Dit de la Harpe of Guillaume de Machaut," Essays in Honor of Albert Feuillerat (Yale Romanic Studies, XXII, New Haven, 1943), 2, note 7.

edition too remains incomplete. Both scholars were aware of a possible solution to the problem of chronology, Ludwig more clearly, I think, than Hoepffner, who proposed, in passing remarks, contradictory criteria for the dating of the lyric poems.

The problem of chronology, in its most general form can be approached in several ways. An arrangement of the works according to subject matter or style might be constructed, such an ordering being then assumed to correspond in some way to the chronological succession of the works. This approach, though legitimate in the absence of any other evidence, is hazardous, and has obvious logical and methodological flaws. The assumptions governing the ordering of the material are tenuous: that the poet's work will show a "development" in qualities with the passing of time, or that similarity of subject matter indicates a nearly simultaneous time of conception. Such may or may not be the case. Moreover, even if we were to grant what is by no means certain, that the artist's work shows a consistent "development," we could never be completely sure that we had rightly grasped such a development, especially when as modern readers or listeners we approach mediaeval works of art. Our criteria will

will tend to be arbitrary and subjective. Chronology, it seems to me, is at its least certain when based solely on stylistic or internal considerations. Such considerations, however, should not be eliminated entirely. In a few cases stylistic evidence may point to definite temporal relationships; and, more important, it can reinforce the probability of hypotheses based on other grounds. Once chronology is established stylistic traits characteristic of different "periods" of the artist's development are often evident. When chronology is not established, various stylistic groupings are possible. Naturally when we are dealing with works of which only a handful can be assigned definite dates, no chronological ordering can be irrefutably proved; but, in Machaut's case, a high degree of probability can be attained.

Fortunately, with the works of Machaut, there is a great deal more to go on than stylistic criteria. The few works that can be dated provide certain fixed points of reference. And the central evidence is provided by the manuscripts that preserve the works of Machaut, their scope and arrangement: for the logical relationship of the manuscripts to each other is best explained by certain hypotheses about the chronology of the works they contain.

"Fortunately," I have said, because the manuscript tradition of Machaut's works is both unusually extensive and unusually authoritative. It presents a situation unique in the history of mediaeval music, and comparatively rare in mediaeval literary history. Machaut is the only composer of the fourteenth century, and even of most of the fifteenth and sixteenth, whose works we can be sure of possessing with such completeness.[1]

Most mediaeval manuscipts are collections, sometimes devoting a fascicle to the works of one composer, but often grouping by categories, and generally transmitting large portions of the repertory anonymously.[2] The musical works of Machaut's Italian contemporary, Francesco Landini, appear exclusively in such collections, together with works of other Italian or French composers. Works of Machaut appear in many such collections, evidencing their popularity not only in France but throughout Europe. But besides such collections, there exists the body of the great Machaut manuscripts, containing both the poetry and music, some of which were almost

1 Cf. Guillaume de Van, "La Prolation Mineure ...," Sources, p. 24.

2 Cf. H. Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts," AfMW VII (1925), 175, on the principles which govern the arrangement of manuscripts.

certainly prepared under Machaut's own supervision. The codex A, one of the best and most complete, opens with an old index, on two unnumbered pages, with the superscription: "Vesci l'ordonnance que G. de Machau wet qu'il ait en son livre."[1]

The only earlier manuscript which can be compared in any way with the Machaut manuscripts is a thirteenth century collection of the works of Adam de la Hale,[2] who, like Machaut, was both a poet and composer. But this collection is probably incomplete.[3] Collections of a single composer's works do not become customary until after the advent of music printing, with the Fossombrone publications of Petrucci (from 1513 on).[4] Petrucci's earlier, Venetian publications are, like the mediaeval manuscripts, miscellanies. The unusually extensive preservation of Machaut's works is not due entirely to chance. It is the result partly of his double role as poet-musician, and partly to his artistic self-awareness. Very probably the patronage of a

1 MW II, 9*.
2 B.N. frç. 25566. A. Jeanroy, Bibliographie Sommaire des Chansonniers Français du Moyen Âge (Paris, 1918), p. 12.
3 F. Gennrich, "Adam de la Hale," MGG I, col. 78.
4 Besseler in AfMW 7, p. 170.

wealthy and cultured nobility also helped to preserve his works.

ii

An examination of Hoepffner's dating of the narrative works is a convenient starting point for any discussion of the chronology of Machaut's works. The narrative poems represent, in any case, a logical beginning, since they include most of the works that can be assigned fairly definite dates. Two motets can, on the basis of historical allusions, also be dated more or less precisely. But none of the lyrical poems can be so dated. Even the lyrics and music which accompany the Voir Dit cannot be assumed to have been written at the same time as the rest of the poem.

The earliest of the datable works is the motet Nr. 18, "Bone pastor Guillerme - Bone pastor," written in 1324, when Guillaume de Trie became archbishop of Reims.[1] One further motet, "Felix virgo - Inviolata genitrix," apparently was written in 1356 at the time of the siege of Reims.[2]

1 MO I, xv. I shall not restate the evidence in full where Hoepffner's decisions are convincing.

2 Friedrich Ludwig, "Die geistliche nichtliturgische, weltliche einstimmige und die mehrstimmige Musik des Mittelalters bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts," AfM I, 268. See the lines: "Nam perimus, Invadimur hostiliter..."

The adventure recounted in the Dit dou Lyon began "Dou mois avril le jour secont, L'an mil trois cens quarante deus."[1] This poem, therefore, is the earliest of the narrative poems to which a reasonably precise date can be given. The Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne must have been written before 1340, at the latest, when the blind king died a valiant death at Crécy. The Jugement dou Roy de Navarre can be assigned the date 1349, the year when Charles of Navarre became king. Moreover, the opening of the poem describes the terrors of the black plague which swept over Europe in 1348 and 1349. The adventure related in the poem begins when the narrator, hearing the joyous sound of instruments celebrating the end of the plague, ventures out of his house.[2] The Confort d'Ami was also written for Charles of Navarre. Charles had been a prisoner of the king of France "d'an et demi" when the work was finished, and it can therefore be placed in the second half of 1357.[3]

The Fonteinne Amoureuse, written for John, duke of Berry, is to be dated between the end of 1360, when the duke of Berry left for England as a hostage, and before the end of 1362, when he returned.[4] The Voir

1 Dit dou Lyon, ll. 32-33.
2 MO I, lxv.
3 Ibid., III, i.
4 Ibid., III, xxix.

Dit dates from about 1364.[1] Events of the year 1363 are referred to in the poem. Paulin Paris assumed that the poem was begun in 1363, and composed in 1363 and 1364. Hanf has shown that the Voir Dit was begun in July of 1363 and finished in April, 1365, if Machaut's statements, made in the work itself, concerning its origin and composition, can be trusted.[2] But Charles V, who was crowned in May, 1364, is still referred to in the poem as duke of Normandy,[3] a fact which is against as late a date as 1365. Machaut's last narrative poem, the Prise d'Alexandrie, was inspired by the assassination of Pierre de Lusignan on January 17, 1369.

Only four of the longer narrative poems remain undated: the Dit dou Vergier, the Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne (before 1346), the Remede de Fortune and the Dit de l'Alerion. The known dates, to summarize, are:

Dit dou Lyon - c. 1342
Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre - 1349
Le Confort d'Ami - 1357
Dit de la Fontainne Amoureuse - 1360-1362
Livre du Voir Dit - c. 1364
Prise d'Alexandrie - after 1369.

1 See Paulin Paris, Voir Dit, xxx, ff.
2 G. Hanf, loc. cit., 158-160.
3 Voir Dit, 136.

In the two most complete manuscripts, A and F-G,[1] these works appear in their chronological order, except for the Jugement dou Roy de Navarre. Hoepffner assumed, therefore, that the order of the narrative poems,[2] and perhaps, he suggested, of the lyric poems also,[3] is given chronologically in the manuscripts. The transposition of the Jugement dou Roy de Navarre to an earlier position is easy to explain. This Jugement

1 In the following discussion and elsewhere I have used the sigla assigned by Hoepffner and Ludwig. The principal manuscripts involved are: F-G (B.N. frç. 22545-22546, fourteenth century); A (B.N.frç. 1584, fifteenth century); Vg (manuscript formerly in the possession of the Marquis de Vogue -- its present location is unknown -- fourteenth century); C (B.N.frç. 1586, fifteenth century); E (B.N.frç. 9221, fourteenth century); M (B.N.frç. 843, fifteenth century); and D (B.N. frç. 1587, fourteenth or fifteenth century). Information concerning these and other manuscripts containing Machaut's works is drawn from the descriptions by Ludwig, Hoepffner, and Chichmaref, and from microfilm copies of A, F-G, B, C, and E. Ludwig's descriptions are by far the most complete. Especially valuable are the tables on pages 43*, ff., in the volume of notes to his edition of the music. (MW II) Where Hoepffner in 1908 listed 16 sources for Machaut's works, and Chichmaref, in 1909 listed 21, Ludwig in 1928 listed 37. It is necessary to rely on Chichmaref for an account of the manuscript presentation of the poems in the Louange. (Ludwig lists corrections for Chichmaref's tables in MW II, 7* and 8*.)

2 In the prefaces to Hoepffner's edition, chronology is taken up with reference to the specific works. Here I have tried to reconstruct the logical steps in Hoepffner's reasoning.

3 HO I, lv, note.

is a companion piece to the Jugement dou roy de Behaigne, closely related in subject matter. Since, aside from this transposition, the ordering of the works is chronological, it follows that the Dit dou Vergier, the Jugement dou Roy de Behaigne, and the Remede de Fortune antedate, in that order, the Dit dou Lyon. Stylistic evidence may also be invoked to support this conclusion. Hoepffner notes the absence of the usual anagram giving the name of the poet, the insignificant role played by the narrator, and especially the "poverty" of the rhymes in the Dit dou Vergier, where only 12% of the rhymes are "leonine," as compared to 31% in the Remede, 34% in the Dit dou Lyon and 35% in the Jugement dou Roy de Navarre.[1]

iii

Although the chronological presentation of the narrative poems in the chief manuscripts is thus well established, it is not possible to assume, without further evidence , that the arrangement of the lyric poems and the music follows the same principle. Chronology is only onefactor governing the arrangement of the manuscripts. Equally important in the general

1 HO I, lvi.

arrangement is the grouping by genres.[1] Moreover, as the placing of the two Jugements indicates, logical relationships may take precedence over the chronological ordering. It would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determinewhen such relationships determine the ordering of the lyric poetry. In the collection of lyric poems, the Louange des Dames, it sometimes seems possible to distinguish certain groups of poems related to similar courtly themes. Numbers XII to XXX might be said to form such a "ballade sequence," since they all deal with the lover's separation from his beloved. Similar problems arise in the music groups. Of the first 24 ballades, 18 are for two voices, while numbers 25-40 include no two voice works. At this stage of the discussion it is unclear whether Machaut cultivated the two voice form at an earlier stage of his career, or whether the arrangement is governed by some other principle. (Arrangement by the number of voices is not uncommon in music manuscripts.)

The chronology that Hoepffner established for the narrative poems bears on the chronology of the rest of the works rather in permitting us to evaluate

1 That is, in the manuscripts the narrative poems are grouped together in a separate section, and the lyric poems are likewise grouped apart from the music. The music is further subdivided by genres.

further the contents of the chief Machaut manuscripts. Of these manuscripts, A and F-G are the most complete. The narrative poems which are omitted in other manuscripts are those known to be later works.

Of the principal manuscripts, C is the most incomplete in all categories. C opens with five narrative poems, the Roy de Behaingne, the Remede, the Dit de l'Alerion, the Dit dou Vergier, and the Dit dou Lyon, presented in that order, which differs from the order of all the other manuscripts. It then gives the Louenge, and five groups of musical compositions -- virelais, ballades, lais, a mixed group (an unordered series of lais, ballades, rondeaux, and virelais), and, finally, motets. All categories are incomplete; there are 198 poems of the Louenge, 26 virelais, 24 ballades, 15 lais, and 19 motets. The motet of 1324 is included, but the one probably written in 1356 is missing. Only the early narrative poems are present. From these facts we may conclude that the original of this fifteenth-century manuscript was Machaut's first "collected edition," an edition which represented his repertory in its oldest form and which antedates 1349 (the date of the Roy de Navarre, which is missing here). Hoepffner was

aware of this special character of the repertory of C. Indeed his placing of the Dit de l'Alerion in the chronological series is dependent upon the supposition that C contains early works:

> "...le manuscrit C offre cette particularité de ne contenir que les premières pièces de chaque genre poétique cultivé par Machaut. Or, ce manuscrit donne les dits depuis le Dit dou Vergier jusqu'au Dit de l'Alerion; mais il ne donne ni le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre, ni les dits postérieurs. L'origine du manuscrit remonte donc à une époque où ce Jugement n'existait pas encore. Le Dit de l'Alerion, alors, était déjà écrit; il est donc antérieur au Jugement dou Roy de Navarre."[1]

Machaut speaks in the Voir Dit of a book where he noted down all his works. He writes apologetically to Peronne: "My most sovereign lady, I would have brought you my book to amuse you, that contains everything I ever wrote; but it's in more than twenty pieces; for I have had it copied for some of my lords, so that I am having the music added, and for this purpose it is better for it to be in pieces."[2] Hoepffner supposed that a number of manuscripts had

1 MO I, lxv, note.

2 "Ma tres-souveraine dame, je vous eusse porté mon livre pour vous esbattre, où toutes les choses sont que je fis oncques; mais il est en plus de .xx. pieces; car je l'ay fait faire pour aucun de mes seigneurs; si que je le fais noter, et pour ce il convient que il soit par pieces." Voir Dit, 64.

as their original source Machaut's own book, in its various stages:

> "Ces copies présentaient les oeuvres de Machaut dans les différentes phases de leur développement, et les manuscrits que nous possédons encore aujourd'hui reproduisent en quelque sorte quelques-unes au moins de ces étapes dans le progrès de l'oeuvre du poète. La première de ces étapes est représentée par le manuscrit C, une seconde par le groupe β (which includes E, Vg, J, K), une troisième par M, enfin la dernière par A et F-G."[1]

That the manuscripts do indeed represent Machaut's repertory in various chronological stages is fully confirmed by detailed study. But Hoepffner elsewhere contradicts his own hypothesis. He notices that C differs from all the other manuscripts in its order, and continues:

> "...il ne remonte en tout cas pas directement à l'original. Il ne semble pas avoir été copié après un seul manuscrit, mais avoir été composé de pièces isolées qui ont dû exister à côté des oeuvres complètes de Machaut et qui ont été réunies par quelque amateur de poésie dans un recueil, d'où C est dérivé; car l'uniformité d'exécution de C ne permet guère d'admettre que ce soit ce manuscrit lui-même qui ait été le premier recueil de ce genre."[2]

There are indeed such "collections" among the Machaut manuscripts, like the manuscript D, which contains

1 MO I, l.
2 Ibid., xlvii.

only the Loenge (as Ludwig remarks, in an order and scope comparable to Vg), the Dit dou Vergier, and the two Jugements. A and J (J is a copy of A), on a larger scale, are also anthologies, in which selections are made from the work of Machaut and others. The manuscript in the Morgan library[1] is of the same character. It contains a generous selection from the works of Machaut (among the narrative poems the two Jugements are missing, although the later works are included) together with Jacque Bruyant's La Voie de Pouvreté et de Richesse, portions of Chartier's Le Belle Dame sans Merci, and the Consolation of Boethius in French translation. The explicit, "Cy fenist boesce le consolacion tant come il a mestier aux lais" indicates that the manuscript is an anthology, made on a selective principle. Such collections obviously can have only a secondary bearing on the problem of chronology. C, Vg, E, K, A and F-C, on the other hand, bear none of the marks of these anthologies (although the appearance of A is deceptive). All categories are represented, and there is no evidence

1 Miss O'Meara, the librarian of the Yale School of Music, has kindly let me see a copy of a very full description of the manuscript (Morgan 396) made by Miss Belle da Costa Greene, the former librarian of the Pierpont Morgan library.

of chronological gaps.

That the order of the works in C should not be the final one is not surprising if it represents the earliest "collected edition" of Machaut's works. The fact that it cannot be shown to derive from any of the more complete manuscripts supports the assumption that its repertory is prior to any of them. To call it an "anthology" does not explain how it happens to contain only early works, of those whose dates are known. The omission of the second Jugement and of several of the lyrics also rules out the possibility that the scribe of C included only the beginnings of the various categories, as found in the more complete manuscripts.

The two contradictory accounts that Hoepffner gives of C are indeed puzzling. More weight is given to the assumption that C includes only the early works, in Hoepffner's dating of the Dit de l'Alerion and in his final explanation of the relationship between the manuscripts. Unfortunately, further confusion on this point is shown when Hoepffner discusses the significance of textual similarities between the narrative and lyric poems. Verses 203 and 204 of the Fontainne Amoureuse:

"Si que sans cuer me partirai,
Et si ne say quel part iray,"

are compared to verses 1 and 6 of the fourth rondeau with music:

"1. Sans cuer, dolens, de vous departiray
6. Mais je ne sçay de quelle part iray."

On verse 276 of the Fonteinne Hoepffner comments:

"L'image de 'l'espart' reparaît dans le cinquième des rondeaux en musique. Malgré la différence des sujets traités, le rapprochement s'impose pour la raison que ce rondeau se trouve placé immédiatement après celui qui est signalé dans la note précédente, et qu'à son tour il est suivi de deux autres (VI et VIII) qui sont également en rapport avec le dit de la Fonteinne Amoureuse. Il y a donc là tout un groupe compact de rondeaux chantés qui ont été écrits sous l'inspiration directe de notre poème. Le même fait se répète quand il s'agit des ballades et des autres pièces lyriques de Machaut. On voit par là la relation étroite qui existe entre ses oeuvres narratives et ses poésies lyriques: ces dernières forment en quelque sorte l'accompagnement et le commentaire poétique des 'dits', et nous obtenons en outre le moyen de fixer une date approximative à certaines de ces pièces lyriques."[1]

Hoepffner here seems to overlook the fact that the rondeaux he refers to appear in C, and therefore were written at least over a decade earlier than the Fonteinne Amoureuse. Even were it not for the evidence of C, Hoepffner's conclusions seem doubtful. Not only the theme of Machaut's poetry, but the poetic idiom is highly conventionalized. The number of parallel

1 MO III, 255.

lines that can be found is so great that they indicate little except a reign of stock phrases in Machaut's poetry. Hoepffner might have cited other parallels to the lines of the rondeau he quotes:

> "Sans cuer m'en vois, dolens et esplourez" (Ballade 9)
> "Helas! li las, quel part iroit?" (Dit dou Vergier, l. 1232.)
> "Las! si ne sçay quel part iray." (Lay 4)
> "Se sache je cuel part irs," (Dit de l'Alerion, l.605)

The method that Hoepffner suggests here for establishing approximate dates would, it seems to me, lead to complete confusion. Moreover, granting a close relationship between the lyric and narrative aspects of Machaut's work, to suggest that the latter form a kind of "accompaniment" and "commentary" seems to assign a secondary role to the lyric poems, that does not correspond to the actual situation. As Hoepffner himself comments elsewhere, Machaut's preference seems to have been for lyric poetry. [1]

iv

Although C contains Machaut's repertory in its oldest form, a considerable portion of the works is represented. The Louanges des Dames, the collection of

1 MO III, xxxi.

lyrics not set to music, which follows the five narrative poems, has 197 texts of the total 274. The order of the texts is identical with that of the later stages. The texts represent 198 of the first 200 poems of the *Louanges* as they appear in A, Vg, D, and F. (The order of the *Louanges* in F is peculiar, and F omits a number of *Louanges* pieces.) Numbers 51, "Trop est crueus li maus de jalousie" and 108, "Mult hons ne puet plus loyaument amer," are the ones which do not appear in C. The early group (i. e., that of C) is that which appears in first place in the later manuscripts.[1] There is therefore reason to believe that chronology *is* a factor in the ordering of the lyric poems. The two poems which are inserted into the early series in the later manuscripts have some relation to the themes of the poems with which they are juxtaposed, and this resemblance may account for the shift. But as in the narrative poems, here too chronology is not the only factor operating to determine the arrangement of the works. At the time that the contents of C were put in order similar transpositions of the early lyrics of the *Louanges* may well have been

1 Later with respect to repertory, not to the date of the manuscript copies themselves.

made -- what these were cannot be reconstructed.

It is important to notice that the Louange in C contains 16 musical texts, which reappear with their music in other sections of the manuscripts. Two of these, however, were not set to music until considerably later, for they are not found in the music sections of C. One of them, "Vois et folie," appears in Vg, I, A, F-C, and R, the other, "Dous, se vous m'estes," only in M, A, and F-C.

The music sections following the Louange in C open with 23 virelais (1-15, 17-20, 23, 21, 22, 24). Only number 16 of the first 24 virelais in A, C, Vg and M is missing, and the order of the last four virelais is different from that of the later manuscripts. Then the first 16 ballades (all for two voices) are given, in the same order as Vg's, followed by 9 lais (1-7, 10 and 12). All these categories are given in an order closely approximating their final order in the other manuscripts. The following music section, however, is a completely disordered mixture of lais, ballades, rondeaux, and virelais, which, Ludwig suggests,[1] is valuable evidence for the time

1 MW II, 10*.

of origin of these works. I would agree that this group of works was probably written after the first section of virelais, ballades, and the like. Machaut, so to speak, handed the copyist this latest batch of pieces, which he had not yet sorted out in the proper categories or in the proper order. If this explanation is correct, the rondeaux are the latest of the chief categories taken up by Machaut. Nine rondeaux, corresponding to the first 9 of A, are included, though their order is , of course, quite different. (The order of the rondeaux is the least stable of all the categories. It does not agree in any two manuscripts, nor are the reasons for the differences evident. M seems to have the best arrangement here, since it gives the earliest works first.)

Five more virelais are found in this second part of C's music section. They correspond to numbers 25, 28, 16, 30, and 29 of Vg, B, A, and G. There are, in summary, 28 virelais in C, including all but numbers 26 and 27 of the first 30 virelais as given in the other manuscripts. Why these two were later placed in the earlier series is not clear. Number 26 is for three voices and number 27 for two, while,

except for number 29, all the virelais of C are monodic. The polyphonic virelai was not taken up by Machaut until the "middle period."[1]

The second section of C completes the ballades through number 24. While the first section of C contained only the two voice works, another stage is represented by numbers 17-24. The earlier form is still represented by two works (afterwards it is dropped almost entirely). One triple ballade (with three texts) is introduced, 3 three voice ballades, with cantus, tenor and triplum (a form peculiar to this group), and a four voice ballade (number 21). Only one voice of the other four voice ballade (number 22) is given in C. It is virtually certain, however, that this does not represent the earliest version of the work. The musical, as well as the textual readings of C are often unreliable. Parts are subtracted or added (as in rondeau 10, or the seconde ballade of the Remede de Fortune). While the repertory itself is old, there is reason to believe that the versions of the works, when they differ from those of the other manuscripts, are not.

Lais 14, 11, 13, 8, and 9 complete the series of lais through number 14. In C, these are preceded

1 We shall refer, somewhat arbitrarily, to the three main stages represented by the manuscripts as "early," "middle," and "late" periods. The early period, however, covers about twenty years and Machaut by the middle period (as represented in the manuscripts) has reached complete artistic maturity.

by the Lay de Flour, which is placed as number 22 in A, is missing in G, follows the Roy de Navarre in Vg and F, and in M is placed most appropriately among the early lais as number 11, and also after the Roy de Navarre. At the end of the Jugement, the king commands Machaut to make triple amends by composing a lai, a chanson, and a ballade. The poet says he will begin "un amoureus lay." The subject matter of the lai is appropriate to that of the Jugement itself, for it is the lament of a lady whose lover is dead. Hoepffner concludes that the lai, according to the statement of the poet, was composed immediately afterwards. He believes that the placing of the Lay de Flour in Vg and F shows its original connection with the second Jugement, that later Machaut "eut l'idée de réunir ce lai aux autres productions de ce genre qui formaient toutes ensemble le recueil de ses lais." This, according to him, is accomplished in A, and should have been so in F-G. M represents the intermediary stage.[1] Hoepffner completely ignores the evidence of C, which shows that the Lay de Flour was originally written as an independent work, then in the middle period, related

1 MO I, lxxxviii, lxxxix.

to the Jugement dou Roy de Navarre, whose subject matter it happened to fit. Perhaps in A Machaut did intend to return the composition to its original position. It was placed, however, at the last of the lais. B gives the truest picture of the situation. Machaut drew on an early work here, just as he was later to do for some lyrics of the Voir Dit.

If Hoepffner is right, it is strange that it never occurred to Machaut to reunite the lyrical interludes of the Remede, or the complainte of the Fonteinne Amoureuse with similar lyrics. The musical compositions of the Remede, which is included among the narrative poems of C, were originally written for the work, and are therefore inseparable from it. None of them appears in the music fascicles of any manuscript. With the Remede itself, they were composed before 1342. Of the seven compositions, three are polyphonic. The two ballades are for four voices,[1] and the rondeaux for three, cantus, tenor and triplum. These are combinations which appear in the second music section of C, but not in the first, and not

1 The second appears in reduced form in C. As I have mentioned, I would consider this a corruption rather than an earlier form of the work.

in the works of the middle period.

C concludes with 19 of the 23 motets. (Numbers 4, 21-23, are missing). The motets, one of the more conservative of the genres cultivated by Machaut, belong, therefore, to the early period almost exclusively, and probably antedate even C's second section of musical genres, which was inserted before the motets because it supplemented and completed the first ordered series. The stable order in which the motets are given in all manuscripts is worth noting. Machaut, I believe, put his works into final order only gradually, and the latest works at each stage are likely to have the least stable arrangement. The contrast in C between the motets, the orderly presentation of the first group of works, and the chaotic arrangement of the second group is more radical than in any of the other manuscripts. The same phenomenon can be observed in later stages, however. The order in A and F-G is most variable with respect to the late works. Since the order of the narrative poems in C is quite different from that of all the following manuscripts, I would be inclined to think that they too are somewhat more recent than the motets, the

first section of musical works, and the poems of the Louange, all of which are in nearly final order. This supposition is reinforced by the resemblance I have pointed out between the polyphonic forms of the Remede, and the second music section. The Dit dou Lyon and the Dit de l'Alerion are probably the latest works in C, and the entire repertory of C is possibly as much as five years older than the Roy de Navarre (1349), which sets the latest possible time limit. In the interval between the Dit de l'Alerion and the Roy de Navarre, Machaut, I would guess, was occupied chiefly with lyrical and musical genres, for the repertory of the middle period is most expanded in these genres.

V

For the manuscripts of the middle period, VC and M,[1] the Voir Dit has the same significance that the Jugement dou Roy de Navarre had for C, i.e., as a terminus ad quem. The original repertory of these

1 M, I have concluded, does not belong with this group. It presents special problems which will discussed in an appendix.

manuscripts must antedate Machaut's autobiographical poem, since it is not included in them. The two manuscripts, however, represent slightly different stages, Vg the earlier, and F the later.

To the five narrative poems of C, Vg and F add four more: the Jugement dou Roy de Navarre (placed after its companion piece, the Jugement dou Roy de Behaigne), the Confort d'Ami, the Fontaine Amoureuse, and the short Dit de la Harpe presented in the same order in both manuscripts. F contains one more Dit, the Dit de la Marguerite, which follows the Dit de la Harpe. The Prise d'Alexandrie appears as the last work in Vg, separated from the other narrative poems, and placed after the music section. The Prise, as Ludwig noted,[1] seems to be an addition to the original corpus of Vg. The Voir Dit, which antedates the Prise, is missing from Vg as from F.

In Vg the Louange has grown from 19C texts (C) to 25C. Of the 57 new texts, 6 are given in the later manuscripts (A and F-G) as a separate group, the complaintes. Except for the single example in the Remede, the genre is new to Machaut's repertory.

1 LW II, 9*.

As V_E and M show, the complaintes were originally included within the Louange.

With M, the Louange is nearly complete. Only five poems of A, and the unica of F-G are missing. The repertory of V_E is increased by 14 texts. The new texts, strangely enough, are not all placed at the end of the series. Four of them are inserted between V_E 227 and 229. V_E 228 (a doubling of 216) is also doubled in M after the four new texts. M 246 is doubled as 258, V_E 254 is omitted, and the final Louange text in M (number 271) is that of the composed rondeau 19, which only M includes within the Louange.[1] One of the new texts of M (number 261) is the complainte, "Sire, à vous fais ceste clamour," dated by Hoepffner c. 1364. Its appearance for the first time in M tends to support this dating.

V_E and M end, as is customary, with the musical genres. (I have already noted that in V_E these are followed by the Prise, which is to be considered an addition to the original repertory of the manuscript). The most important addition to the categories found in C is the polyphonic setting of the ordinary of the mass, new not only to Machaut's work, but perhaps

1 See Chichmaref's concordance tables, MF I, lxxxix and xc.

to the history of music as a whole. Another category introduced in the middle period, the hoquet, is also represented by a single example.

The order in which the categories are given in Vg establishes a certain norm for that of all the later manuscripts. The three categories given first are those which reflect the most traditional stylistic features: the lais, motets, and the mass. They are followed by the ballades, rondeaux, and virelais. The hoquet is given last of all. Ludwig suggests that it is placed here, instead of after the motets and mass, as in a, because it fills one verso and recto side of the last virelai page.[1]

Since M is a text manuscript, without music, it contains only those categories which have a double function as both musical and poetic genres: the lais, ballades, rondeaux, and virelais, but not the motets. M usually heads the composed texts "y a chant," or "il a chant." M's omission signifies that the poetic form of the motet is not considered autonomous.

Vg includes four lais (15-18) besides the fourteen and the Lay de Plour found already in C. To these,

1 MW II, 9*.

M adds one more, number 20.

Machaut's motets are completed in Vg by numbers 4, 21, 22, and 23. No further works in the category are found in A and G. The last of these motets was apparently written in 1356. It is probable that Machaut wrote no more motets after this date.

The ballade repertory, on the other hand, is almost doubled in the middle period. Vg adds numbers 25-36, while the repertory of M includes numbers 37 and 38.[1] The rondeaux too have similarly increased. Vg adds numbers 11-17, and M, 18-20. Of the middle period virelais, Vg gives numbers 26, 27, and 31-36, while M adds 37.

Unfortunately this investigation of the manuscripts yields little new information for the dating of the mass. In de Bure's catalogue of the library of Gaignat (which contained F-G), the mass is listed with the remark: "Messe mis en musique à 4 parties, et que l'on prétend avoir été chantée au sacre de

1 There is room left free at the very end of M for four compositions, which, however, are not filled in: ballades 39 and 40, rondeau 21, and virelai 37. I do not believe that these belong with the rest of M's repertory, since the ballades and rondeau are also missing in A. They appear only in F-G, and I conclude that they are later than the repertories of both M and A.

Charles V,"[1] a supposition taken up by Abbé Rive, and generally by nineteenth century historians. The modern editors of Machaut have, in general, rightly rejected this dating (1364) as unsupported by any evidence. Van den Borren notes, however, that the eighteenth century editors at least made a good guess.

> "Il fallait, en effet, une occasion particulièrement solennelle pour que le maître fût amené à écrire une oeuvre aussi exceptionelle."[2]

The presence of the mass in Vg tends to weaken that hypothesis, for it shows that the mass was written before the Voir Dit was completed (c. 1304). The mass is not, however, an early work, as Apel has maintained.[3] Even were it not for the evidence of the manuscripts, Apel's argument that the mass (unlike the ballades and motets) uses a brevis instead of a semi-brevis beat, and reflects features of thirteenth century style, has little bearing on its date. As in the monodic lais, which are written in what was, by Machaut's time, an even more antiquated style, and which also use a brevis beat, the archaism is

1 MW II, 11*.
2 Charles van den Borren, Études sur le XVe Siècle Musical (Anvers, 1941), 66.
3 "It is no doubt, an early work by Machaut, probably the earliest of all that exists, and may have been written about 1330." W. Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music (Cambridge, 1945), 345, note; review of three editions of Machaut's mass in Speculum 26 (1951), 187.

deliberate. Machaut continued to cultivate this older style in the lais up to the very end of his career, long after the formulation of the modern ballade style.

vi

A and F-G present Machaut's repertory in its final stage, a stage which does not go much beyond that of E. The Prologue, the Voir Dit, and the Lyrics constitute the major additions. The Prologue ends with the announcement that in order to fulfill the commands of Nature and Love, the poet will begin without delay the Dit dou Vergier. Hoepffner has pointed out that the Prologue, in spite of this reference, is a preface to the "oeuvres complètes," not merely to the one poem, and that it is one of the latest works of Machaut, since A does not include the Prologue in its original pagination. It was added at the time of A's index, after the completion of the entire manuscript.[1] The Prologue opens both A and F-G, introducing the series of narrative poems. Their order in A agrees with E, through the Dit de

1 HO I, liii, liv. See also Appendix I.

la Marguerite, except that the Louange is interposed between the Dit de la Harpe, and the Dit de la Marguerite. The complaintes, now separated from the Louange, are given next. Following them are the new works of A, the Voir Dit, the Prise, and the smaller works: the Dit de la Rose, and Vergi les biens que on dune ne fait. As usual, the musical works bring up the rear, with the lais, motets, mass, hoquet, ballades, rondeaux, and virelais (the same arrangement as in VA, except for the placing of the hoquet).

The order of the narrative poems in F-C deviates from that of A with regard to the later works. The Voir Dit is placed before, instead of after the Dit de la Marguerite. (It is out of proper chronological order, since the Marguerite is already found in B). Then come the Prise, the Louenge, the complaintes, and the Dit de la fleur de lis et de la marguerite (it is still unedited). In conclusion the musical categories appear in the same order as in VA.

In the Louenge, A adds 5 texts to the repertory of B (264-268) and F-C adds 6 more. One new complainte is found in A, and 2 more in F-C. F-C, however, omits, without apparent reason, the Louenge texts numbers 187-220. There is , however, some logic

behind the omission of thirteen further texts. Of these, eleven are composed texts, which appear twice in other manuscripts, once in the Loanges, and once with music in the music fascicles. (Three of these texts are included in the Voir Dit, and therefore appear three times in some manuscripts). The purpose of the omissions is to eliminate these doublings, or, more precisely, to eliminate the musical texts from the Louanges (there is no attempt to eliminate the non-composed texts of the Voir Dit). The compiler falls short of his goal, however; he omits two non-composed texts, and includes three composed texts.

Only a few musical works date from Machaut's late years. A adds virelai 38, lais 20 and 21, while C adds rondeau 21 and balladen 39 and 40.

From the five manuscripts C, Vg, K, A, and F-G, we can form a remarkably clear picture of the development of Machaut's repertory. Each manuscript incorporates the repertory of its predecessor, while adding new works in all categories. This pattern is so consistent and so well supported by the works of known date, that there can be, I think, no doubt that we are dealing with successive chronological

states. The implications of this fact, which have only been hinted at in this chapter, become apparent when we turn, at last, to a study of Machaut's music, of his development, and of the position which the various musical genres occupy within his repertory as a whole.

Summary

The numbering of the Louange follows A; the numbering of the music follows Ludwig's edition. Two theses are distinguished in the manuscript C. The following groups are arrived at by listing the new works of each manuscript.

C I	Dit dou Vergier	
	Behaingne	
	Louange: 1-50, 52-107, 109-200	
	Virelais: 1-15, 17-24	
	Ballades: 1-16	
	Lais: 1-7, 10, 12	
	Motets: 1-3, 5-20	
	(Fr. 16, 1324)	1324, or earlier
		to
C II	Remede	1349, or earlier
	Lyon (1342)	
	Alerion	
	Virelais: 16, [illegible], 28-30	
	Ballades: 17-24	
	Lais: 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, [illegible]	
	Rondeaux: 1-7, 9, 10	

Vg Navarre (1349)
Confort (1357)
Fontcinne (1360-1362)
Harpe
Louange: 51, 108, 201-222, 227-254
Complaintes: 1-6 (included within Louange)
Lais: 15-18
Motets: 4, 21-23 (Hr. 23-1356)
Ballades: 25-36
Rondeaux: 8, 11-17
Virelais: 26, 27, 31-36
Mass
Hoquet — 1349, or earlier to c. 1364

M Marguerite
Louange: 224-226, 255-263
Complainte: 7 (c. 1364; included within Louange)
Motets: --
Lais: 19
Ballades: 37, 38
Rondeaux: 18-20
Virelais: 37

A Voir Dit (c. 1364)
Prise (after 1369)
Rose
Vesci les biens
Louange: 264-268
Complaintes: 8
Motets: --
Lais: 20, 21
Rondeaux: --
Ballades: --
Virelais: 38
Prologue — c. 1364 to 1377

F-G Dit de la fleur de lis
Louange: 6 texts
Ballades: 39, 40
Rondeaux: 21

Chapter IV

The Motets

In examining Machaut's musical repertory, we are first struck by the extraordinary variety of styles to be found within it. It is not merely a question of a variety of form. The differences between motet, ballade, mass or lai go far beyond mere differences of structural outline. They involve the smallest details of melody, rhythm, and counterpoint. With very few exceptions, these styles are strictly isolated from each other. They exist side by side, but they do not interpenetrate. Each exists in a world all its own, governed by its own particular laws. This purity of style division is maintained in Machaut's works with remarkable consistency.

In his ability to write simultaneously in the most diverse styles, Machaut possesses an astonishing degree of virtuosity. His repertory even includes some archaic forms hardly encountered elsewhere in the fourteenth century. In discussing Machaut's music, the first general distinction to be made is that between the modern and the archaic forms. On the modern side are the motets, the ballades, and their related forms (rondeaux and polyphonic virelais);

on the archaic side, the lais, the mass, the monodic virelais, and the hoquet. But even within this broad classification the styles are sharply distinguished. There is, indeed, a much sharper stylistic distinction between different genres than there is between early and late works in the same genre. For this reason, it is more convenient to study each genre or group of related genres separately than it is to follow a purely chronological outline.

ii

When Machaut began to compose, the motet was the form which embodied the most progressive tendencies of the period. The isorhythmic motet was "the latest thing," the form to which the theorists referred when they discussed the innovations of the Ars nova. All the surviving musical works of Philippe de Vitry, the founder and chief theorist of the Ars nova, are motets, works which could well serve as models to a young composer.

Machaut's early repertory (as represented in C) includes compositions in virtually all forms, but the motet enjoys a certain prominence. C contains

24 balladeo, 9 rondeaux, 15 lais, 25 virelais, and 19 of Machaut's 23 motets -- a generous representation, when we take into account the fact that the motet has much broader dimensions than any of the other genres.

The typical Machaut motet is a very complicated affair. The lowest part, the tenor, is a pre-composed melody, taken from liturgical chant. Theorists of both the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are unanimous in stating that the composition of a motet begins with the tenor. Grocheo, writing around the beginning of the fourteenth century, compares the tenor of a motet to the foundation of a house, that part over which the rest is constructed.[1] Above this tenor, which is performed instrumentally, are two vocal parts, each of which is provided with a different text: the motetus and triplum. The typical Machaut motet has French texts, on courtly subjects. According to Grocheo, the motetus lies about a fifth above the tenor, the triplum an octave, although these limits are variable.

Rhythmic contrast is a prominent feature of the

1 J. Wolf, "Die Musiklehre des Johannes de Grocheo," SIMG I (1899), 108.

fourteenth century motet. The rhythm of the tenor is very slow, in longs, drawn-out notes (longs and breves). The triplum has a much quicker motion (semi-breves and minims) except at the ends of phrases. The motetus occupies a position rhythmically intermediate to the triplum and tenor. Although closer rhythmically to the triplum, it is somewhat slower, sometimes moving in breves and semi-breves, sometimes in the quicker semi-breve-minim rhythms of the triplum. The slower motion of the motetus relative to the triplum results in its having a shorter text. In the tenor the notes are prolonged to such an extent that the part loses its melodic integrity, serving as a purely structural basis to the composition, while the melodic interest is concentrated in the upper voices. The simultaneous existence of modus (the division of the long into breves), tempus (the division of the breve into semi-breves) and prolation (the division of the semi-breve into minims) has no real parallel in modern notation or rhythm. The isorhythmic motets have three, and sometimes four,[1] metrical dimensions where most music has only two.

1 Four of Machaut's motets (Nrs. 5, 7, 21, and 23) make use of modus maior.

The characteristic feature of the fourteenth century motet is isorhythm.[1] The principle of isorhythmic organization is applied most strongly in the tenor, the part which is the basis of the form as a whole. This means that the rhythmically amorphous melody of the tenor is organized into a number of identical repetitions of an extended rhythmic pattern. Usually the tenor melody is repeated, often in such a way that the rhythmic and melodic repetitions are brought into conflict. If, for instance, three rhythmic repetitions coincide with two melodic repetitions, the melody will appear the second time in a different rhythmic form, since it will begin at a different point in the rhythmic pattern.

Fourteenth century theorists commonly applied the term *color* to melodic repetition, *talea* to rhythmic repetition. Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, in the *Tractatus practice de musica mensurabili*, gives the most extensive information on the use of the terms in the fourteenth century. He distinguishes three

1 The term was coined by Friedrich Ludwig (in "Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts," *SIMG* 4 (1902), 16, ff.), and has become standard. The contemporary theorists describe the principle, but have no general term for it.

different uses. The three have this in common, however: the term color is applied to music by analogy with its rhetorical use, "because just as in rhetorical color there is repetition of the same word, so in musical color there is repetition of similar figures (i.e., rhythms, since identical rhythms are expressed in identical notation), or of similar melodies, or of similar figures and melodies together -- about which there are different opinions."[1] The first use is that of Johannes de Muris, who applies the term color to any repetition, melodic or rhythmic. A second school of thought, represented by cantores of the time of de Muris, reserves the term color for melodic repetition, talea for rhythmic repetition.[2]

1 CS III, 225, 226. "Unde primitus est sciendum quod omnes iste tres opiniones in hoc concordate sunt, quod color in musica sit sumptus sub quadam similitudine ad quendam colorem rethoricum qui repetitio nominatur, quoniam sicut in tali colore rethorico fit pluries repetitio ejusdem dicti, ita in colore musico fit pluries repetitio ^ similium figurarum et vocum simul, secundum quod varie sunt iste opiniones."

2 Cf. the Libellus... of de Muris, CS III, 50: "Color in musica vocatur similitudo figurarum unius processus pluries repetite positio in eodem cantu. Pro quo notandum quod nonnulli cantores ponunt diversitatem inter colorem et taleam. Hos vocant colorem, quando repetuntur eedem voces; taleam vero quando repetuntur sŏiles figure."

^ similium figurarum, sive similium vocum, sive

Certain modern musicians of the time of Prosdocimus (who wrote around the beginning of the fifteenth century) use the terms in a third way, applying *color* to a repetition of melody and rhythm together, and *talea* to a repetition of rhythm alone. Prosdocimus tells the reader to choose whichever opinion seems most pleasing to him. The *second*, he says, is the one most commonly used, but all are reasonable enough.

A slightly different version of the second definition, given by the anonymous author of an *ars cantus mensurabilis*, points up more sharply the conflict between *talea* and *color* that is sometimes found in fourteenth century motets. He defines *talea* as the repetition of the same rhythm with *different* melody, *color*, as the repetition of the same melody with *different* rhythm.[1]

One of the ways in which the same melody could be repeated in a different rhythm has already been mentioned. This would occur whenever the number of *taleae* and *colores* are not in proportion. But melody may also be said to appear in a different, though

1 CS III, 397. "Quod talla (sic) dicitur, quando repetuntur eedem note sub eisdem figuris, sub diversis tamen vocibus ... Quod color est quando repetuntur eedem voces sub diversis tamen figuris."

proportional rhythm through diminution of the tenor pattern. In half of Machaut's isorhythmic motets, the tenor is divided into two large sections (each containing several talea), the second of which is an exact diminution of the first, i. e., the note values are reduced: 1/2 if the original rhythm was duple, 1/3 if the original rhythm was triple.[1]

The device of isorhythm, while it is embodied principally in the tenor, is usually extended to the upper parts. Sometimes the whole composition is isorhythmic, down to the smallest note values. In other cases, only the longer notes and rests of the upper parts are identically repeated in each section.

Another rhythmic device which is used in virtually all of Machaut's isorhythmic motets is hoquet. Hoquet is described by the theorists as a "truncatio" made in the upper voices in such a way that one of them is silent while the other sings, as if one melody were divided between two singers.[2] In other words, the upper voices are interspersed with rests, which do

1 Cf. the Libellus, CS III, 56. "Diminutio motettorum semper fit in tenoribus ... Prima, quod pro maxima sepe in diminutione ponitur longa, pro longa brevis, pro brevi semibrevis, pro semibrevi et minima."

2 Marius Schneider, "Der Hochetus," ZfMW 11 (1929), 390; Cf. Franco's definition in Oliver Strunk, Source Readings in Music History (New York, 1950), 157.

not, however, coincide. Hoquet technique, which was known in the thirteenth century, reaches a high point in the Ars Nova motet.[1] Hoquet produces especially lively and agitated rhythms, and is therefore particularly effective when used in connection with the diminution of the tenor in the second section of a motet. The diminution of the tenor, of course, brings about a quicker rhythm, and shortens the isorhythmic periods. Diminution could not be applied to the upper voices, which were already in short note values. But the combination of diminution in the tenor and hoquet in the upper voices can give the second section of a motet a heightened rhythmic intensity which brings the work to a climactic conclusion. Hoquet may also be used in the upper parts against a non-diminished tenor. In either case, the hoquet pattern is almost always part of the isorhythmic structure, and is repeated identically in each period.

In many of Machaut's motets, the texts are also, so to speak, isorhythmic. The text, by its versification, may fall naturally into stanzas exactly corresponding to the number of isorhythmic patterns.

1 Schneider, loc. cit., 393.

even when the versification does not imply particular divisions, it may be distributed over the composition in such a way that each isorhythmic period contains the same number of verses. This raises the interesting question of whether the text was added (and even written) after the completion of the music, as one fourteenth century theorist seems to imply. It shows that at least the basic isorhythmic structure of the work was decided upon before the text was written.

III

The isorhythmic motet was, essentially, a new creation of the early fourteenth century. But its history is continuous with that of the thirteenth century motet, and even, in some respects, with the organum of the Notre Dame school in which the motet originated. It is, of course, impossible to give an adequate summary of the rich variety of thirteenth century motet forms. This very variety makes its definition as a genre difficult. The fourteenth century isorhythmic motet represents, in fact, the first stable solution to the form problem of the motet, a solution that was to remain in use as long as the medieval motet itself was alive, for well over a

hundred years. In order to understand both the novelty of the solution and, on the other hand, its continuity with the tradition of the past, it is necessary to examine certain features of the motet in the preceding period.

The motet, in its use of a sacred melody for the tenor, bears the traces of its origin in the liturgy. And if, in the fourteenth century, the texts of the motet are influenced by the musical structure, this too is in keeping with the earliest forms of the motet.

The origin of the motet was in the clausulae, or discant sections of the Notre Dame organum, those sections in which the tenor, instead of moving in long sustained notes, moved in modal rhythms with the upper voices. Since all voices had the same text, the whole clausula, often an extensive composition, was highly melismatic, frequently written over one or two syllables of text. The motet arose through a process of troping, by the comparatively simple device of adding a text to the upper voices. The earliest form of the motet had the same text in all the upper voices, and was derived from the three or four voice

clausula.[1] The earliest motets, like the clausulae on which they were based, were liturgical. In the three-voice motet fascicle of the Notre Dame manuscript Florence Plutens 29.1, the motets are arranged by the liturgical order of the tenors,[2] while the text of the upper voices is closely related in meaning to that of the tenor.

In the early part of the thirteenth century, the motet soon broke away from the liturgy and became an independent genre. In its rapid development, it explored a number of formal possibilities. Two part motets, some of them reduced from three part works, came to have an important part in the repertory. French texts, no longer related in meaning to the tenor, were substituted for Latin, and probably, at the same time, the tenor became instrumental.[3] The

1 F. Ludwig in AfM, p. 202. This is the form found in Wolfenbüttel 628, which contains the oldest Notre Dame repertory (there without the tenor, so that the works have the appearance of a conductus.)

2 Ibid., 204. The same liturgical arrangement is found in the Munich codex, of which only fragments are preserved, although it contains principally French motets. Cf. F. Ludwig, Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili (Halle, 1910, 2 vols.), 279.

3 Yvonne Rokseth, Polyphonies du XIII^e siècle. Le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier (Paris, 1936, 4 vols.) IV, 219. "En devenant profane et en s'introduisant dans les fêtes musicales du monde, le motet a dû faire un large appel aux instruments pour l'exécution des ténors. D'abord il ne convenait guère de proférer un texte liturgique en même temps que les paroles d'amour des voix supérieures. En second lieu, les laïques aimaient, ainsi que nous l'apprend Elie Salomon, à chanter au son des violes."

upper parts, instead of being taken over from the clausulae, were newly composed, each with its own text. New triplums were added to two voice motets, originally based on clausulae, which thus became three voice works. The early two voice motet was often a contrafactum of a Latin work, but as the French motet came to have increasing importance, the process was reversed, and Latin motets created by the substitution of Latin texts for French.[1] Gradually the French double motet (with two texted voices and tenor) came to be the leading form.[2]

The most extensive collection of thirteenth century motets is found in the Montpellier manuscript (Mo), edited by Yvonne Rokseth, in which almost all stages of the thirteenth century motet are represented. We can thus conveniently limit our present discussion to this single manuscript. Only the very oldest type, the Latin motet with the same text in all upper voices, is missing. The latest stage, which foreshadows important features of the motets of Vitry and Machaut, is found in the last two fascicles

1 Ludwig in AM, 205.
2 The earliest works of this type are found in the third motet fascicle of Wolfenbüttel 1206. (Ludwig, Repertorium, 205.)

of the manuscript (7 and 8). The older repertory of Mo (fascicles 2-6) is arranged according to the number of voices. (The manuscript opens with a small collection of organa, conducti, and hoquets.) The second fascicle is devoted to four-voice triple motets, while the sixth contains 75 two-voice motets, which are probably the oldest works of the collection. The number of three-voice motets is so large that a further division by the language of the texts can be imposed in fascicles 3-5. The third fascicle contains a small collection of works with the strange combination of Latin motetti and French triple, a mixture rarely encountered in the thirteenth century. The fourth fascicle contains Latin double motets, and the fifth French double motets.[1]

The older motet repertory of Mo naturally reflects many stylistic traits of the Notre Dame clausula. Twenty-eight motets of the first six fascicles of Mo are still based on clausulae.[2] In the older motet, as in the clausula, the voices are of more or less

1 Ludwig assigned the following approximate chronological order to fascicles 2-6: 6, 5, 2, 4, 3. Repertorium, 345, ff.
2 Rokseth, loc. cit., IV, 67.

equal weight, and are governed by the rhythmic modes. All voices tend to move in the same rhythm. Occasional attempts were made to differentiate the voices by assigning a different rhythmic mode to each. One of the earliest examples of this technique is found in the widely copied "Ypocrite pseudopontifices."[1] In the latest fascicles of Mo's older repertory, Mo 3 and 4, the technique is applied more systematically. Here the voices may also be differentiated by allowing phrase endings to come at different points in each voice. But as long as modal rhythm dominated the motet, the maximum contrast that could be achieved was between sixth mode (all breves) in the triplum, with occasional use of semi-breves, and fifth mode (all longs) in the tenor.

The seventh and eighth fascicles of Mo introduce several decisive innovations of style which prepare the way for the fourteenth century isorhythmic motet. The most important of these concerns the new relation of the triplum to the lower voices. The triplum now becomes the most prominent part of the composition, moving in quicker rhythms against the

1 Published in AH, 200, 201.

slower motetus and tenor. Technically, this trickier style required the introduction of smaller note values, and the abandonment of modal rhythms. The new style is associated with the name of Petrus de Cruce, who, according to Jacobus of Liège, was the first to divide the breve into more than three semibreves. The two famous motets attributed to Petrus de Cruce in Mo (Nrs. 253 and 254) both employ this new kind of organization.[1] In these works the breve is divided into as many as seven semibreves; the semibreves, moreover, are no longer treated as ornaments, as small melismas, but are treated syllabically. The quicker motion of the triplum is not, of course, absolute, but only relative to the lower voices. In actuality, the effect of the new relationship of the voices produced not so much a speeding up of the triplum, as a slowing down of the tenor and motetus. The Petronian works of Mo 7 and 8 thus represent the first step towards making tempus (the division of the breve) instead of the perfectio (the division of the long) the normal unit of measure,[2] a process that

1 For a list of motets in Petronian style, see Rokseth, loc. cit., 213.
2 Ludwig, Repertorium, 423.

is completed in the Ars nova motet.[1]

While the motetus and tenor still maintain predominantly modal rhythm, the slower tempo tends to destroy the effect of modal repetition. In some of the most advanced compositions in Petronian style (in particular, nrs. 311 and 312 of the eighth fascicle), the motetus is brought into a closer relationship with the triplum, in part, through the use of hoquet sections.[2] The tenor tends to become, as in the Ars nova motet, a purely structural part having, as Yvonne Rokseth puts it, only an abstract connection with the original melody.[3] With these changes in rhythmic contour, the texts, formerly in harmony with the modal rhythms of the music, begin to have a looser construction, and in the Latin motets prose texts are introduced.[4] The new rhythmic freedom had disadvantages as well as advantages. The Petronian style provides no real substitute for the unity of

1 Cf. the tables of tempo changes in Besseler, "Die Motette von Franko von Köln bis Philipp von Vitry," AfMW 5 (1923), 214 (reproduced in Reese, Music in the Middle Ages) and Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music (Cambridge, 1945), 343.
2 Rokseth, loc. cit., 214.
3 Ibid., 220.
4 Ludwig, Repertorium, 421, ff.; Besseler in AfMW 5, 151.

composition which the use of modal rhythms in all voices gave the motet. In a sense isorhythm represents the fourteenth century solution to the problem of finding a substitute for the older modal organization of the motet.[1]

Some of the Latin motets of the late thirteenth century show influences from the conductus. Of particular interest are those which imitate the opening melisma of the conductus, thus anticipating the fourteenth century use of introductory sections, found in some of the motets of Vitry and Machaut, which precede the beginning of the first isorhythmic period.[2]

Many of the motets of the late thirteenth century also depart from tradition in their choice of tenors. The older motet sticks to the tenor repertory of the clausulae, which were based on the soloistic portions of the proper of the mass. In the late thirteenth century this tenor repertory is widened. Tenors may now be drawn from the ordinary of the mass, from hymns, tropes, antiphons, and other new sources.[3]

1 Ludwig, Repertorium, 423.
2 AfMW 8, 177, ff., 181.
3 Repertorium, 424, ff.; AfMW 8, 193, ff.; Norlseth, loc. cit., 82, ff.

Choral as well as soloistic portions of the responsorial chants could now serve as tenors, as in Petrus de Grace's *aucun ont trouvé - Long loar* (Ex. nr. 294). In this period, as the tenor tended to become more and more a structural support, singles tones were preferred to the complex melodies with a large range which are typical of the melismatic portions of the liturgy.[1] The same freedom in the choice of tenors continues in the *Ars nova* period.

A surprisingly large number of motets in the last two fascicles of Ivrea, and in other manuscripts of the latter part of the century, are based on secular melodies, whose form thus determines that of the work as a whole.[2] But this solution was bound to be somewhat unsatisfactory, and had virtually no influence in the fourteenth century.

It may seem strange at first that the mediaeval motet, throughout its history, continued to draw on the liturgy for its tenors, since it had very early lost its original connection with the liturgy, and since secular melodies might therefore seem at least equally

1 Ronseth, *loc. cit.*, 163.
2 *Ibid.*, 203, 213; Besseler, *op. cit.*, 111.

suitable as tenors. While tradition may have played some small part, musical reasons unquestionably had more to do with the choice. The liturgical chant had the outstanding advantage of complete rhythmic flexibility. Whatever its original rhythm may have been, at the time when polyphonic music began to come into its own, it was unmeasured. Small sections of chant thus lent themselves readily to the imposition of new rhythms and new forms. A secular melody used as a tenor, on the other hand, imposes its own rhythm and form on the motet. It thus restricts the freedom of the composer to an extent which made it unsatisfactory except as a temporary solution to the formal problem of the motet.

We have still to deal with the stylistic trait that is most important of all for the fourteenth century: isorhythm. While there is no thirteenth century work that really approximates the isorhythmic motet of the *Ars nova*, isorhythmic technique can be found everywhere. If the distinctive characteristic of isorhythm is the dissociation of melody and rhythm, then isorhythm is present, in a latent form, in the very technique of voicing with a tenor. In the

tenors of the clausula and motet, melody and rhythm are not composed simultaneously. Rhythm is conceived as a separate entity, imposed upon an already existing melody. The further step of bringing melody and rhythm into actual conflict is only a more positive form of the assertion of the composer's rhythmic will.

Both rhythmic and melodic repetition is common in the tenors of the clausulae and motets. The chant melisma over which the discant clausula is written, is often repeated more than once, a practice carried over into motet writing. Repetition of the tenor melody seems to become almost a rule in the late thirteenth century motet. Only four motets of fascicles 7 and 8 of Mo are based on a single statement of the tenor melody, as compared to 52 works in the older repertory.[1] Rhythmically the tenors are organized into short repeated patterns, called ordines, separated from each other by rests and each consisting of one or more repetitions of the modal pattern.

Conflicts of rhythmic and melodic patterns are already found within the organum. The end of Pérotin's *Alleluia Pascha*, where 3 1/2 rhythmic repetitions

1 Rokseth, *loc. cit.*, 202.

coincide with 4 melodic repetitions, has been frequently cited in scholarly literature as an example of this technique.[1] Sometimes even when a strict maintenance of the tenor pattern would not bring about any conflict with melody, the composer deliberately alters the rhythm of the second appearance of the melody. A convenient example is a clausula on Domino[2] where, midway through the composition, the composer simply omits the first half of the tenor pattern, so that the second repetition of the melody begins on the second half of the rhythmic pattern. Since only a small fraction of the organum repertory has been published in transcription, it is difficult to estimate the frequency with which such isorhythmic techniques are used in the discant clausulae. A series of clausulae on folios 148, ff., of the Notre Dame manuscript Florence Pluteus 29.1 contain a surprisingly large number of works where the melodic repetitions are made to begin at a different point

1 Ludwig, "Musik des Mittelalters in der Badischen Kunsthalle Karlsruhe," ZfMW 5 (1923), 448, ff.; Reese, op. cit., 300, ff.; F. Ercidert, Stimmigkeit und Gliederung in der Polyphonie des Mittelalters (Darmstadt, diss., 1935), 30.

2 Transcribed in HAM I, p. 25, ex. 28 e.

in the rhythmic pattern.[1]

The clausula thus furnished a precedent for the occasional use of similar isorhythmic techniques in the tenors of the motet. What the fourteenth century was to call talea and color are found in a number of both early and late thirteenth century works.[2] In other motets, a different (but usually related) rhythmic pattern is used for repetitions of melody.[3] Of particular interest are those compositions in which the second rhythmic pattern is shorter than the first, foreshadowing the fourteenth century technique of diminution. This group includes works found chiefly in the later fascicles of Mo, in particular the two motets of Petrus de Cruce. In the Aucun ont trouve the pattern is condensed by the simple omission of a rest.

A very few motets in the last two fascicles of Mo approach the fourteenth century technique even

1 See Donec veniam, f. 152, where 18 rhythmic repetitions coincide with 4 melodic repetitions, (Conf) Tebor, f. 154, Nec dies, f. 155, etc. I am indebted to Mr. William G. Waite for having shown me his transcriptions of these examples.
2 Listed in Rokseth, loc. cit., 203.
3 Ibid., 203.

more closely in applying the principle of rhythmic repetition to the upper voices. The repeated pattern in the upper voices, moreover, is more extensive than the short modal ordo. No nr. 283 (Amor vincens-Marie preconio - Aptatur) in particular has been emphasized by Ludwig and Besseler as an early example of the isorhythmic motet.[1] But this work is not really comparable to the fourteenth century form. The tales of the upper parts coincides not with the rhythmic, but with the melodic repetitions of the tenor. The tenor itself is not isorhythmic. The melody is simply repeated 3 1/4 times in the same rhythm.

The possibilities of isorhythm as an overall constructive principle are not fully realized in any single work of the thirteenth century.[2] Nor could they be realized until modal rhythms had loosened

1 Repertorium, 423; AfMW 8, 179.

2 "Les compositeurs que nous voyons à l'oeuvre s'acheminent sans doute vers ce procédé de construction, d'une part en dissociant l'élément mélodique et l'élément rhythmique de leur teneurs... d'autre part en faisant revenir périodiquement, ainsi que no. 311, (which has a hoquet pattern repeated in each period) certains rhythmes caractéristiques. Mais il faudra attendre le maître qui opéra la synthèse de ces deux tendances pour assister à la naissance du motet isorhythmique." Rokseth, loc. cit., 214.

their hold over the tenor, or until the new relation of voices in the Petronian motet had so slowed the tempo as to weaken the force of the modal rhythms. Modal rhythms required short repeated motifs, incapable of organizing the motet into larger sections. The longer talea of the fourteenth century motet produced a form of much broader dimensions than that of the preceding period. A single isorhythmic period is often as long as many an entire thirteenth century motet.

iv

The isorhythmic motet was already well established as a form when Machaut began to compose. The earliest examples are found in the manuscript B.N. frç. 146, which contains the 1316 version of the Roman de Fauvel with musical interpolations inserted by Chaillou de Pestain.[1] Of its 23 three-voice motets, which include some of the early works of Philippe de Vitry, 17 have isorhythmic tenors. The isorhythmic technique of these works is still, however, somewhat primitive. In many of them the upper voices are freer than is

1 Besseler, "Neue Quellen ...," AfMW 7, 176, ff.

usually the case in the works of Machaut and the later works of Vitry, while the isorhythmic patterns of the tenor are still more or less modal.[1] The change in musical form is accompanied by a marked change in the character of the texts. In the thirteenth century the dominant form was the double motet with French texts, usually on courtly love themes. Now Latin texts predominate. Moral or political themes, more closely related to contemporary affairs, are taken up. At the same time, the ten syllable line, instead of the seven or eight syllable line of the older French motet, begins to play an important role in motet writing.

Ivrea, the second important source for the Ars nova motet, is a manuscript probably compiled in Avignon after 1356,[3] containing motets, mass movements, and a few small secular forms, including four French canons.[4] The bulk of its repertory dates from the first half of the century, and ever contains a few motets that may go back to the thirteenth century.[5]

1 Besseler, AfMW 7, 190.
2 AfMW 8, 189.
3 AfMW 7, 185, ff.
4 Ibid., 187.
5 Nrs. 35 and 76. (Ibid., 190) Nr. 26, probably the next oldest, like a famous Fauvel motet, refers to the trial of the Templars (1310-1314).

As in Fauvel, Latin motets predominate.[1] Most of the motets of Ivrea are probably contemporary with those of Machaut. Ivrea, in fact, includes among its French motets three of Machaut's works, motets 8, 19, and 15 (nrs. 38, 32, and 19 of Ivrea),[2] transmitted, like most of Ivrea's repertory, anonymously.

In these two manuscripts, of particular interest are the dozen motets which can be attributed, with varying degrees of certainty, to Philippe de Vitry. Vitry's reputation as a theorist, composer, poet, and man of learning is considerably greater than his extant works suggest. Besides the motets, only three literary works survive, the Chapel des Fleurs de Lis, written for a projected crusade of Philippe de Valois in 1332,[3] the Dit du Franc Gontier, a poem in praise of the simple life, which Villon satirized over a century later,[4] and a ballade (without music.)[5]

1 There are 21 with Latin, 14 with French, and 2 with mixed texts. On the motets which refer to contemporary events, see Besseler in AfMW 7, 190, ff.

2 Ludwig, NW II, 17*.

3 A. Piaget, "Le Chapel des Fleurs de Lis par Philippe de Vitri," Romania 27 (1898), 55. Résumé and edition of poem on pp. 68, ff.

4 A. Machabey, "Notice sur Philippe de Vitry," RM 10 (1929), 32.

5 E. Faguon, "Ballades mythologiques de J. de Le Mote, Ph. de Vitry et J. Campion," Humanisme et Renaissance 5 (1938), 305, ff.

Slightly older than Machaut (born October 31, 1291), Vitry too was a native of Champagne.[1] Deschamps, another Champenois, couples his name with that of Machaut ("Vittry, Machault, de haulte emprise, poetes que Musique ot chier") in a ballade which celebrates the famous men of his province.[2] His musical innovations are spoken of in the treatises of Theodoricus de Campo and Tunstede,[3] among others, and in the Règles de seconde rhétorique.[4] He is praised by Pierre Bersuire as a philosopher, historian, ardent lover of antiquity, and authority in all the mathematical sciences.[5] Petrarch, his close friend and correspondent, called him "poeta nunc unicus Galliarum," "litteratissimus homo," "veri semper acutissimus et ardentissimus inquisitor ..."[6] In a letter of 1351, Petrarch congratulated him on his election as bishop, but regretted that he must abandon

1 L. Delisle found his birthdate in the margin of a manuscript of the Grande chronique de Guillaume de Nangis in the Vatican library, which was annotated by Vitry. Opposite the year 1291 he had written: "I, Philippe de Vitry, was born that year, the last day of October." (Coville, Romania 59, 521; Machabey, loc. cit., 22.)
2 Deschamps, Oeuvres, VIII, 178.
3 CS III, 191; CS IV, 257.
4 Règles, ed. Langlois, 12.
5 Coville, 534; Machabey, 24.
6 Coville, 526, 533; Machabey, 25.

the intellectual life.[1] On hearing of Vitry's death (1362), Petrarch wrote in the margin of a manuscript of Virgil, a poet whom both of them loved:[2] "There was a rumor here some time ago of the death of Philippe de Vitry, my father and friend. On this day of Sunday, the 22 of August, I had it confirmed. I dissembled and refused to believe. Alas! The wounds of Fortune increase beyond measure."[3]

Seven of the thirteen motets quoted by Vitry in his famous treatise, the Ars nova (which Besseler dates c. 1320)[4] are found in Fauvel and Ivrea. (In general, only about half the motets quoted by the theorists have survived.) Besseler surmised that Vitry, in the Ars nova, seems to be quoting his own works.[5] His authorship of Douce playsance - Garison (Ivrea 37) is confirmed by Gasse de la Bigne.[6]

1 Machabey, 29.
2 Coville, 533.
3 Ibid., 543. "Rumor quoque jampridem hic fuerat de obitu Phillipe de Vitriaco, episcopi Meldensis, patris et amici mei. Hoc autem die dominico 22 augusti, compertum accepi. Dissimulabam et credere recusabam. Heu mihi! Nimis crebescunt Fortune vulnera."
4 AfMW 8, 196.
5 Ibid., 192.
6 In the following passage from his Deduits de la chasse: "Car garison selon nature/ Désire toute créature/ De sa douleur si comme dit/ Un acteur qui le nous escrit/ En un motet qu'il fist nouvealx/ Et puis fut évesque de Meaux/ Phillippe de Vitry eut nom/ Qui mieux sceut motets que nul hom." (Machabey, 27) Machabey (p. 34) seems to have more doubts than Besseler about this attribution -- but the reference seems fairly explicit.

His authorship for Colla jugo - Bona cordit cetera (Ivrea 28) is probable on literary grounds; for Tube sacrae fidei - In arboris, on musical grounds.[1] If it is assumed that Vitry does indeed quote his own works in the Ars nova, then four works from Fauvel, Vos pastores - Orbis orbatus, Firmissime -Adesto, Garrit Gallus - In nova fert, and Tribum - Quoniam secta are also his.[2]

Two further motets of Ivrea, Vos quid admiramini-Gratissima virginis species (nr. 13), and Cum status Nabucodonosor - Hugo, Hugo, princeps invidie (nr. 22) are ascribed to Vitry by Tunstede.[3] Imudenter-Virtutibus (Ivrea 6) was attributed to Vitry in Strasbourg,[4] but the attributions of this manuscript were quite unreliable. For instance, it erroneously attributed three works by other composers to Machaut, and transmitted three works that are by him anonymously.[5]

1 AfMW 8, 192, ff.
2 Ibid., 192. They are nrs. 6, 20, 18, and 22 of the 3 voice motets of Fauvel.
3 CS IV, 268. See Ivrea concordance, AfMf 7, 188-191.
4 A manuscript formerly in the state library of Strasbourg, burned in 1870. See Ch. Van den Borren, Le Manuscrit Musical F. 222 C. 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg (XIVe siècle) brulé en 1870, et reconstitué d'après une copie partielle d'Edmond de Coussemaker (Anvers, 1924).
5 MM II, 30*, 39*.

Vitry's authorship may be considered more certainly established for the three motets attributed to him by Tunstede and Gasse de la Digne (Ivrea 13, 22, and 37) than for the other works.[1]

Since Dessler's research, scholarship has uncovered two more motet attributions to Vitry. Both are works that are found anonymously in Ivrea. Roesch discovered in a fifteenth century manuscript, B.N. lat. 3343 (a miscellaneous collection of French and Latin works) several works of Vitry.[2] The manuscript contains the texts of what seems to have been originally a four voice Latin motet, with a non-liturgical tenor and contratenor, which the manuscript attributed to Vitry and his brother.[3] It also attributed to Vitry the motet Petre clemens - Lugentium (Ivrea 51).[4] If this attribution is accepted, this motet, written for the French pope Clement VI, who reigned from 1342 to 1352, is one of the latest of Vitry's known works.

Musically Lugentium is an unusual work. Although

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1 Ludwig, MW II, 18*.
2 Roesch, loc. cit., and "Du nouveau sur Philippe de Vitry," Humanisme et Renaissance VI (1939), 48.
3 Ibid., 49
4 Ibid., 52.

it is isorhythmic, its tenor, unlike those of most fourteenth century motets, is a melody freely composed, without repetitions.[1] Like several other Vitry motets, it uses hoquet, and has an introduction before the beginning of the isorhythmic periods. Unlike any of Vitry's other works, it is written throughout in perfect tempus and prolation. The others are all in imperfect tempus with perfect prolation.[2] The rhythmic treatment of the smaller note values is also unlike that of Vitry's other works. Finally, it is remarkable for its use of imitation in the upper voices, a tech-

1 See table in AfMW 8, 222-224. The work is partially transcribed in Besseler, Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, 165.

2 If we can really speak of prolation in the Fauvel works, whose notation does not distinguish semibreves and minims. Apel, in opposition to the Ludwig (and Besseler) interpretation, advocates Petronian interpretation of the Fauvel works. (Notation of Polyphonic Music, 325, ff.) Compare his partial transcription of virginisse - Adesto (Ibid., 335) with Besseler's (Die Musik des Mittelalters ..., 174). The organ version of the work in British Museum add. 28550, which does distinguish semibreves and minims, supports Besseler's interpretation in the many measures where the two coincide. See Early English Harmony...illustrated by facsimiles, ed. Coldridge (London, The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1907), Plates 43, 44. But this, it may be argued is a later interpretation. A more serious objection to Apel's view is that it forces us to interpret the Ivrea and Fauvel motets which Vitry uses as examples in the Ars nova, works closely related in style, and probably written within a fairly short period of time, in entirely different rhythms. The versions of the Fauvel work which appear in B.N. Coll. de Pic. 67 and Brussels, Royal Library, 19606, also support the Ludwig-Besseler interpretation. (Cf. Ludwig, NW II, 21*, note.)

nique not commonly used in the motet until half a century later in the Italian motet.[1]

The recent discovery of a page from a fourteenth century motet manuscript in the binding of a volume of sermons in Freiburg, Switzerland, identifies one more Ivrea motet as Vitry's.[2] The sheet contains a French motet, attributed to Lachaut,[3] and a Latin motet attributed to Vitry, O canenda vulpo - Rex regum (Ivrea 70).[4] It is a polemic work, with a motetus text in praise of Robert of Anjou (1278-1343) whose name is given in an acrostic.

Most of the musical features typical of the Lachaut motet are already found in these works of Vitry. Lachaut's motet composition probably begins in the twenties.[5] The seven works quoted in the

1 Besseler, AfMW 7, 192. Whether Italian influence is already at work here, as Besseler seems to assume, must remain an open question. G. de Van ("La Pédagogie musicale à la fin du moyen âge," Musica Disciplina 2 (1948), 79), who accepts the attribution, also sees clear evidence of Italian influence. I am not sure that the mere presence of imitation, which can be derived, after all, from French forms like the canon, is sufficient evidence for Italian influence. The melody, rhythm, and harmony of the work are quite un-Italian.

2 Gabriel Iwias, "Deux motets inédits de Philippe de Vitry et de Guillaume de Lachaut," Revue de Musicologie 30 (1948), 28.

3 This attribution is false. See Appendix II.

4 Zwick, loc. cit., 35.

5 His earliest datable work is motet 15, written in 1324.

Ars Nova probably antedate Machaut's early works by several years. The four Vitry motets in Fauvel are, of course, written before 1316. With the exception of Orbis arbatus (for which Besseler considers Vitry's authorship more doubtful than for the others), their style is comparable to that of the most modern works of Fauvel.

In Adesto the upper voices are free, unregulated by the isorhythmic periods of the tenor, while in Garrit gallus and In nova fert there are isorhythmic features in all voices. The versification of In nova corresponds to the tenor periods. The Vitry motets in Ivrea, with the exception of Douce playsance - Garison, Vitry's only motet with French courtly texts, go beyond the technique of the Fauvel motets in their use of hoquet and of diminution. Colla iugo - Bona condit uses tenor diminution, while in Tuba - In arboris is combined with hoquet in the upper voices.[1] The chief possibilities of isorhythmic construction were thus explored by Vitry before the Ars Nova. The other Vitry works in Ivrea (including the doubtful Impudenter - Virtutibus) now regularly use hoquet.

1 Tuba transcribed by Besseler, AfMW 8, 245-247. Colla, 247-250.

In Vas mali - Orphicum,[1] Invidebor - Virtutibus, and O admonda - Hec quis, the tenor is reinforced by a fourth voice, a slow moving contratenor. All of these structural traits are found again in Fresnaut's motets.

V

Isorhythm has usually been interpreted by scholars as a purely abstract constructive principle, perceived only by the intellect, not by the ear.[2] The further philosophical significance of the form has been variously described.[3] Ficker relates it to neo-pythagorean and oriental number speculation.[4] Sukofzer presents very persuasively another interpretation along these lines:

> "To retain a certain rhythmic scheme in the various parts of a composition actually meant

1 Transcribed AfMW 6, 250-253.

2 Besseler, AfMW 6, 204, ff. and passim; Martin Schneider, Die Ars Nova des XIV. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich und Italien (Wolfenbüttel-Berlin, 1930), 78 and passim; Reese, op. cit., 339, to mention only a few.

3 "Altüberlieferte Lehren von der "musica mundana" als der harmonischen Ordnung des Weltalls, Inspirationsgedanke und universale Kirche, das Hierarchie- und Werkprinzip der Scholastik, die Mittagsfeierlichkeit der ständischen Gesellschaft und der Kreislauf des Kirchenjahres -- das alles klingt in der Ars nova-Motette noch einmal zusammen ..." Besseler, Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, 133, 134.

4 R. Ficker, "Formprobleme der mittelalterlichen Musik," ZfMW 7 (1925), 212.

> to keep the same numerical proportion ... Numerical proportion supplied, as it were, the formula of the universe, comprehensible to the intellect alone. The human senses such as the eye and the ear perceive things as unrelated to each other, but the intellect provides the unifying proportions. The isorhythmic motet, thus, corresponds to human experience in life: the single isorhythmic periods seem different to the ear though they are based on an identical numerical proportion. Thus the motet represented another device allegorizing the universe."[1]

But such an interpretation is not, I think, altogether correct. This is not to deny that the fourteenth century motet may symbolize ways of thinking and feeling which are adumbrated in other forms of mediaeval art and thought, but only to insist that isorhythm does have a sensuous as well as an intellectual basis, in short, that it is, in most Ars Nova motets, perceptible to the ear.

Like any complex musical art works, the motets of Vitry and Machaut demand careful study and repeated performances. Isorhythm is basically a variation form in which rhythm, instead of harmony or melody, is made the constant; as such, it is not much more difficult to follow, once one has become accustomed to the unfamiliar style, than a series of intricate harmonic variations. The identity of the harmonic

1 H. Hukofzer, "Speculative Thinking in Mediaeval Music," Speculum 17 (1942), 100.

framework in each of Bach's Goldberg variations is probably not perceived, even by the trained listener, hearing the work for the first time. But what at first may be perceived only by an abstract analysis, is soon felt and heard by the listener who becomes at all familiar with the work. The musician who takes the trouble to familiarize himself with Machaut's motets, will, I think, begin to hear repeated rhythmic patterns which he had hitherto only seen.

I make this claim only with certain reservations. Where the isorhythmic repetition occurs only in the tenor, and the upper voices are completely free (as in Vitry's *Firmissime - Adesto*) the repetition is not sensuously perceived.[1] But isorhythm becomes more and more perceptible to the degree that it is applied to the upper voices. Repeated hoquet patterns, especially, with their highly characteristic rhythms are certainly immediately recognized; and hoquet is regularly used in the motets of Machaut and the later works of Vitry. Hoquet is employed by the composers of the *Ars nova* motet precisely to call attention to

1 Repetition of the tenor melody is not perceived, nor is it heard as melody. This is a problem, however, that involves other forms of *cantus firmus* composition as well, and is not peculiar to isorhythmic works.

the isorhythmic structure. The Fauvel motets attributed to Vitry, with their relatively freer upper voices, do not yet use the device. But as the upper voices become more strongly isorhythmic, hoquet is used increasingly.

One reason that isorhythm is not always readily perceived in the Ars nova motet is related to the melodic style of the upper voices. In this respect, there is little difference between a work such as Firmissime - Adesto, and motets where the upper voices are more strongly isorhythmic. Except in hoquet passages, the upper voices are smooth flowing, (with much stepwise motion) broadly phrased, with little use of such rhythmic devices as syncopation. Moreover they sound freely composed. One of the chief mysteries of the composition technique which produced these works is that rhythm and melody, although composed separately, create the illusion of having been conceived organically. The motets of Machaut which show the strictest isorhythm in all voices exhibit the same melodic characteristics as those in which the upper voices are freest. It was one of the great achievements of Vitry and Machaut that they managed

to preserve the illusion of melodic freedom in works where melody was actually limited not only by the pre-existent melody of the tenor, but by the rhythmic construction of the whole. In the later fourteenth century, when strict isorhythm for all voices becomes the norm, this is no longer true. Short phrases and intricate rhythmic detail tend to replace the older form of melody.[1] Isorhythm in these works is, of course, even more easily perceived, but with a certain loss of melodic continuity.[2] Vitry and Machaut, moreover, are careful to preserve the continuity of the form as a whole by refusing to mark clearly the ends of talene (this is usually done by staggering the phrases in the different voices); in the later motet they are more clearly marked, but again with some loss of continuity. Yet the illusion of melodic freedom does not necessarily obscure the listener's

1 Cf. Ars cano - Flos virginum, transcribed AfMW 6, 254-258.

2 Richard Hoppin, "Rhythm as a Structural Device in the Motet Around 1400," (abstract of a paper), Journal of the American Musicological Society 3 (1950), 157, 158, points out that "the talene in motet after motet turned out to be carefully built-up and clearly defined structures whose repetitions can scarcely have been missed by even the dullest listener."

sense of rhythmic recurrence, even at points where hoquet is not being used. He gradually becomes aware that phrases (and rests) of the same length occur at regular intervals. He is not meant to follow the rhythmic repetitions in detail (especially since few of Machaut's works and none of Vitry's are strictly isorhythmic), but there are usually sufficient isorhythmic correspondences in the upper voices to make him aware of the principle of rhythmic recurrence.

Isorhythmic motets are, of course, abstract in the same sense that fugues are sometimes said to be abstract, in that they can be reduced to a schematic outline. Isorhythm has been interpreted as "purely abstract" for various reasons. The fact that it is a lost technique, which disappeared after the end of the middle ages, and which is today almost completely unfamiliar, probably has something to do with it. Moreover there seems to be a tendency among certain scholars to regard rhythm as an element that is somehow more "abstract" than melody, although rhythm would seem to be an equally sensuous phenomenon. Finally, there are semantic difficulties. Attempts to describe the form in verbal or diagrammatic equivalents (including

ours) inevitably make it sound more abstract, and even more complicated, than it actually is. Besseler's motet table,[1] extremely useful as a summary of fourteenth century isorhythmic structures, has the forbidding appearance of some mysterious form of higher mathematics. The musical validity of the form can only be suggested. Ultimately it is something that each listener must find out for himself.

vi

The chief Machaut manuscripts are in complete agreement on the order of the motets.[2] The motets are virtually complete in C; only four works, nrs. 4, 21, 22, and 23 (probably 1356) are missing. As we have seen, the order in which works are presented in the manuscripts is usually more or less chronological. But in the motets another principle of arrangement takes precedence over chronology. Clearly there has been an attempt to separate the Latin and the French motets from each other, although it has not been carried out with perfect consistency. There is one

1 AfMW 8, 189, ff.
2 With the exception of E, whose order in all categories differs from that of the other manuscripts. Ludwig's edition, MM, follows the numbering of the manuscripts.

exception in each group. Thus nrs. 1-17 (with the exception of 9) have French or French-Latin texts,[1] while nrs. 18-23 (with the exception of 20) have Latin texts. This is why nr. 4 (with French texts), which, since it does not appear in C, is a later work, has been placed early in the series, and why nr. 18 (with Latin texts), an early work (1324), is found towards the end, at the beginning of the Latin group.

Musically Machaut's motets are not revolutionary works, but are continuations of the Vitry motet style. Yet in his overwhelming preference for French courtly texts,[2] Machaut deviates from the practice not only of Vitry, but of the fourteenth century motet in general. (We shall see again and again that Machaut, although his music is a mirror of the chief musical forms of his period, also stands somewhat apart from it.) This preference is, of course, related to Machaut's general courtly aims.[3] There is scarcely any common denominator of musical style between motet,

1 There are only two works, nrs. 12 and 17, with this mixture of French triplum and Latin motetus.
2 There are only six Latin motets: nrs. 9, 18, 19, 21-23.
3 Cf. Chapter I.

ballade, and lai, but there is an intellectual one, a unity of intention, which exists apart from the music, but which permits the variety of styles within it. Sometimes, however, this subordination[1] of music to the ideals of courtly love is expressed by archaism, a reaching into the past for styles and forms traditionally associated with these ideals. Among the motets we see this phenomenon in three works which are unique in the fourteenth century motet repertory, nrs. 11, 16, and 20. They are not isorhythmic, but are based, like many motets of the late thirteenth century, on secular melodies as tenors.

The remaining 20 motets are isorhythmic, and are based on liturgical tenors. In his treatment of the tenor, Machaut seems to favor equally the form consisting simply of several repetitions of the rhythmic pattern, and that consisting of two large sections (each containing several talees) the second of which is a diminution of the first. Tenor diminution occurs in 10 motets (1-5, 7, 10, 18, 21,23), while

1 "Subordination" in the sense which we have discussed in Chapter I, which contributes dialectically to the musical freedom.

the somewhat simpler non-diminished form occurs in 9 (nrs. 8, 9, 12-15, 17, 19, 21). The tenor structure of nr. 6 is anomalous, with two large sections, the second of which is based on a different but related talea.[1] A conflict of talea and color (which does not occur in any of Vitry's surviving motets) is found in six works (4, 7, 9, 14, 19, and 22).[2]

Further classifications of tenor structures are possible. But isorhythm involves to some extent all voices of the motet, and the tenor structure cannot be isolated from the structure of the form as a whole. Certain features of the tenor talea are sometimes determined, in fact, by its function within the total form.

The favorite meter for the upper voices of motets is imperfect tempus with perfect prolation.

1 Reprinted in HAM I, ex. 44. It seems unfortunate that a more typical work was not chosen as the only example of a Machaut motet in this anthology.

2 Reese, op. cit., 354, mistakenly includes nr. 8 in this list. In motet 8, the tenor melody is repeated in the same rhythm (as Ludwig's note, MQ III, (136) 32 explains). There are 12 taleae in the tenor covering 3 repetitions of melody. One isorhythmic period in the upper voices, however, equals three tenor taleae, so that the work, as a whole, tends to fall into four larger sections.

(All but one of the motets attributed to Vitry were in this rhythm.) This rhythmic combination is used in 15 of Machaut's motets. Only 8 make use of the other three possible combinations: nrs. 1, 5, 10, in perfect tempus and prolation; nrs. 11 and 19 in perfect tempus with imperfect prolation; and nrs. 7, 8, and 16 in imperfect tempus and prolation. But we should not conclude, because the motets are almost all early works, that this rhythm is characteristic of Machaut's early works as such. The 8 exceptions all belong to the early motets, while the 4 motets which were written after the period represented by C are in the same rhythm typical of the motets as a whole. Moreover the two-voice ballades in C, which also date from Machaut's earliest period of composition, show much greater variety of meter, with perfect tempus, imperfect prolation predominating. This metrical combination (imperfect tempus with perfect prolation) is therefore rather a distinctive stylistic feature of the motet as a genre. In perfect prolation, moreover, the longer value is normally placed first. (◇ ♪) The reverse rhythm (♪ ◇) identical with that of the old second mode, is very rare in the motets.

The eight motets which deviate from this metrical pattern include works which are also exceptional in other respects. The three motets with secular tenors (11, 16, and 20) are among this group, while in nr. 5, the upper voices are rhythmically freer than in almost any other of Machaut's motets. Nrs. 7 and 8 (both in imperfect tempus and prolation) contain extensive passages in syncopation.

The extent to which isorhythm governs the upper voices, the form as a whole, as well as the tenor, does not seem to have been generally recognized, to judge at least from such a statement as Reese's: "In several motets, the upper parts, while not isorhythmic throughout, are so to some extent."[1] This is true not of several, but of all of Machaut's motets,

1 Op. cit., 354. Further corrections: "The contratenor as well as the tenor is isorhythmic in motets 22 and 23..." This is true of all the four-voice motets, of nrs. 5 and 21 as well. "...while, in motet 23, the other parts are free." In motet 23 the second diminished section is strictly isorhythmic in all voices except for the first two measures of the triplum in the first talea, while the first section contains extensive isorhythmic correspondences. Motet 4 "has upper parts that are isorhythmic throughout ... The upper parts are almost entirely isorhythmic in motet 13." The reverse is true. Motet 13 is strictly isorhythmic except for the 4 measure rest in the motetus at the beginning of the work. Motet 4 contains more minor deviations than motet 13 (especially at the beginning of each period). Nr. 15 is also strictly isorhythmic throughout, once it is recognized that the isorhythmic period in the upper voices corresponds to two tenor taleae.

even including those with non-isorhythmic tenors.

One reason that isorhythmic features of the upper voices may not be recognized at first glance is that Machaut deliberately obscures the ends of the talea, refusing to allow the phrases to begin and end together. This prevents the form from falling into too rigidly defined periods. There are several easily recognizable techniques, what might be called bridging formulas, by which this is accomplished. Normally the tenor talea ends with a rest (in 14 works). In one very common formula, the motetus enters on the last measure of the talea with an imperfect long, which holds over to the first measure of the next talea, when the tenor enters again after its final rest. The new phrase in the triplum then begins one measure after the beginning of the new talea (as in nrs. 1, 7, 10, 14, 17, 19). In other cases, the new phrase in the triplum begins a measure before the beginning of the talea (as in nrs. 4, 5, 8, 15). In only two cases does Machaut allow the beginning of the triplum phrase to coincide exactly with the beginning of the period (nrs. 13 and 15), and in both these examples, the tenor talea, instead of ending with a rest, begins

with a rest, while the motetus phrase bridges the end of one period and the beginning of the next, so that, even here, the phrases are staggered.

The degree to which isorhythm dominates the upper voices varies a great deal. In the three motets which are strictly isorhythmic throughout, except for minor deviations (nrs. 4, 13, and 15), Machaut goes beyond the technique of any of the motets attributed to Vitry. At the other extreme is a work like nr. 5, where, at least in the first section, the upper voices are relatively free. The second diminished section is, however, strongly isorhythmic. In general the rhythmic features of the upper voices most strongly attracted by isorhythm are 1) hoquet sections, 2) rests and 3) (less regularly) the longer note values. It is the hoquet sections, as we have said, which most sharply call attention to the isorhythmic structure of the whole. The regular recurrence of rests at corresponding points involves, essentially, the recurrence of phrases of equal length.

Hoquet is, of course, used regularly in connection with tenor diminution. The diminished sections are almost always strongly isorhythmic. In these sections, with their shorter talea and characteristic rhythms,

the isorhythmic structure is immediately grasped by a hearer, probably even on first listening to the work.

The staggering of phrases over the end of one isorhythmic period and the beginning of the next explains certain features of the isorhythmic structure. In the average motet, the last part of the talea is more likely to be isorhythmic than the first part. The rhythm of the first talea, moreover, is often less regular than that of following ones. This is because at the beginning of the work all voices normally enter together. Yet this is just what Machaut wishes to avoid in subsequent taleae. Motet 3, in which the isorhythm is less pronounced than in many works, may serve as an example. The talea here is 22 measures long. The first 11 measures of each talea are quite free, but from measure 11 on the motetus becomes strictly isorhythmic (with a small variant in the last two measures of the third talea), and the triplum only slightly less so. The second large section, in diminution, becomes almost strictly isorhythmic. Or in motet 14, with a 30 measure talea, all voices are strongly isorhythmic from measure 10

on. In motet 16, the beginnings of each talea correspond in all voices except in the first talea.

Motet 15 illustrates how Machaut avoids emphasizing the ends of taleae even in a work which is strictly isorhythmic. Since the triplum and motetus must begin together, Machaut postpones the entrance of the tenor, by making the tenor talea begin with a rest, and the last note of each period in the triplum is made to form part of the same phrase as the beginning of the next.

This same motet illustrates another treatment of isorhythm which Machaut uses more than once. It might be called double periodization, where the talea of the upper voices includes several taleae of the tenor. In motet 15, the tenor melody is divided into 4 taleae, and the upper voices might seem at first to follow the same periodization. It is easily seen, however, that talea i is identical with talea iii, and talea ii identical with talea iv; i.e., the upper parts form two large periods which are strictly isorhythmic, and four sub-periods. But there are also isorhythmic correspondences within the sub-periods. Measures 1-3 and 16-30 are in exact rhythmic correspondence

in each sub-period, but measures 4-15 are isorhythmic only within the two larger periods.

The same kind of treatment occurs in motet 1. The tenor melody is divided into 6 talea, which are repeated twice, the second time in diminution. In both sections of the motet, each talea in the upper voices covers two in the tenor. (Ludwig's edition follows the upper voices in labelling the isorhythmic periods.) Again this double periodization influences the rhythm of the upper voices. In the first, non-diminished section of the motet, measures 19-18 (or 17) correspond exactly to measures 31-36 (or 37) in each sub-period, while in the second diminished section, the hoquet passages correspond in each sub-period.

Something similar is found in motet 22, although here the periodization is the same in the upper voices as in the tenor. But the talea itself, in the tenor and contratenor, has, rhythmically, an a b b form, and this form is extended to the upper voices.

Double periodization can also be studied in motets 9, 10, and 12. In number 12, there are three main periods, each containing three sub-periods, with isorhythmic correspondences between sub-periods ii and iii within each larger period. (The work as a

whole, however, is, with motet 5, one of the least isorhythmic of Machaut's motets.) In motet 8, and the first non-diminished section of motet 10, the double periodizations of tenor and uppervoices remain independent of each other -- i.e., the sub-periods of the upper voices do not contain isorhythmic correspondences.

How deeply isorhythmic thinking was ingrained in the fourteenth century motet composer is perhaps most strikingly shown in the three motets on secular tenors (nrs. 11, 16, and 20). These tenors are, of course, not isorhythmic. Yet, in all three works, there are traces in the upper voices of recurrent rhythms, of regular periodicity, which have nothing at all to do with the structure of the tenor, and are not required by it.

In motet 20, for instance, there is a three measure hoquet section repeated identically three times, each time at an interval of 17 measures (in measures 8-10, 25-27, 42-44). In addition measures 15-16 and 32-26 (also 17 measures apart) of the motetus are rhythmically identical. This work, like all three of the motets on secular tenors, is unusual in other respects. It

is the only one of Machaut's motets in which there is no modus, in which the tenor, a rondeau, moves in breves and semibreves instead of longs and breves. The usual degree of rhythmic contrast between the tenor and upper voices is therefore missing. Moreover, the perfect prolation of the upper voices freely mixes the two forms of triplet rhythm (◇◇ and ◇◇) using them against each other in both voices in a way that does not occur in any other motet.[1] There is also much more pronounced dissonance and more frequent part crossing than in the other motets.

In motet 11, there is also a three measure hoquet passage repeated identically three times (measures 32-34, 61-63, 92-94) at approximately the same interval. But this periodization is slightly irregular (there are 29 measures between the first and second passage, 31 between the second and third). This slight irregularity would seem to indicate that the recurrent rhythms are less the product of abstract calculation than of a firmly established habit of composition.

The structure of motet 16, Lasse! comment oublieray-

1 In motet 15, for instance, one of the rare works where the reversed triplet rhythm occurs towards the end of each period, it is not used in combination with the other form.

Se j'aim - Pourquoy me bat mes maris?, is even more astonishing. All of the rests in both upper voices point to a regular periodicity, but here a different one for each voice. In the motetus, a breve followed by a two measure rest occurs in measures 13, 43, 73, 103, 133, and a rest of one measure in measures 30, 60, 90, and 120. The motetus is thus divided into extended phrases of corresponding lengths, in a 30 measure periodictiy. In the triplum a breve followed by a measure rest occurs in measures 24, 49, 75, 100, and 125, pointing to a slightly irregular periodization of 25 measures. The whole composition, which is 148 measures long, is thus divided into 5 periods (each 30 measures long) in the motetus, and 6 periods (each 25 measures long) in the triplum, with the last two measures of each final period omitted. The tenor, of course, has its own structure, an irregular virelai form. The text is distributed evenly throughout the composition so that each 30 measure period in the motetus contains 6 lines of text, and each 25 measure period in the triplum 8 lines of text. The motet is also distinguished by its chromaticism and its recurrent use of a syncopated motif repeated

many times in the same melodic and rhythmic form. (though at irregular intervals), devices which are more characteristic of the ballade than of the motet. The composition technique which produced such a work remains somewhat mysterious.

There are many Machaut motets which deserve special attention. Motet 8 (Hui ne pronesses - Ha Fortune - Et non est qui adjuvet) was one of Machaut's most popular works.[1] We have already mentioned its unusual rhythm, it double periodization, and extended passages in syncopation. The triplum phrase which introduces each period (except, of course, the first) is repeated in identical melodic form. The chromatic alteration of the liturgical tenor makes possible rich harmonic effects[2] and indicates how freely the liturgical modes are treated in the fourteenth century.

1 It is contained not only in five Machaut manuscripts, but in four others. (MV III, (134) 30.) Its popularity may have been due partly to its subject matter.

2 Chromaticism of this kind is found in the secular tenors of motets 11 and 16, but is unusual in liturgical tenors. But even when chromaticism is not used in the tenor, the free use of accidentals in the upper voices greatly obscures the modal effect.

A very startling use of syncopation is found in motet 7. The eight measure passage of syncopation (repeated three times in the first section of the motet) is actually diminished, along with the tenor, in the second section. This is the only example I have found where diminution involves the upper voices. This form of diminution is possible only in imperfect prolation which is, as we have said, unusual in the motet.

Some of Machaut's most outstanding works are found among the six Latin motets. The use of an introductory section is associated exclusively with the Latin motet. All but the early motet 18 have an introduction prefixed to the first isorhythmic period. In motets 9 and 19 this takes the form of a 12 measure phrase in the triplum, leading into the first isorhythmic period. In motet 22 the motetus joins the triplum toward the end of the introduction. In motets 21 and 23 the introduction reaches considerable proportions, beginning with the triplum, adding the motetus, then the tenor and contratenor, and coming to a full cadence before the beginning of the isorhythmic period.[1]

1 In motet 21 there is no text for the introduction. Whether it was performed instrumentally, or vocalized on the first syllable of the text, seems open to question. Besseler seems to assume instrumental performance. (AfMW 8, 224.)

Motets 21-23 are among the last works that Machaut wrote in the genre. They are impressive compositions of broader dimensions than the other works. The form is expanded not only through the introductions, but through the addition of a contratenor.[1] The hoquet passages, in which the tenor and contratenor also participate, are particularly intense in these works.

In most of Machaut's motets the distribution of the texts corresponds to the isorhythmic periods.[2] According to the motet treatise of Aeridius de Turino, the words of a motet are normally added after the music:

> "After the music is finished and arranged, then take the words which belong to the motet and divide them into four parts; and similarly divide the music into four parts, and put together the first part of the words over the first part of the music, as well as possible, and so proceed to the end."[3]

1 Machaut's only other four-voice motet is nr. 5, also an unusual and very beautiful composition. Its upper voices (in the first section) are unified less through isorhythm than through irregularly repeated melodic and rhythmic motifs. In the lyric repertory too, four-voice composition is associated much more closely with the Latin motet than with the French.

2 This is true in nrs. 1, 4, 6-10, 13-15, 17, and 18.

3 CS III, 125. "Postquam cantus est factus et ordinatus, tunc accipe verba qui debent esse in motetto et divide ea in quatuor partes; et sic divide cantum in quatuor partes; et prima pars verborum compone super primam partem cantus, sicut melius potest, et sic procede usque in finem."

Machaut's method is much more subtle. Motet 1, for example, has the following versification:

Triplum: a8,a8,b8,a8,a8,b8,c2,c2,b6,a8,b8/ a8,a8, b8,a8,a8,b8,d2,d2,b6,a8,b8,/ a8,a8,b8,a8, a8,b8,e2,e2,b6,a8,b8// a8,a8,b8/ a8,a8,b8/ a8,a8,b8.

Motetus: a7,b2,b2,c6/ a7,d2,d2,c6/ c7,e2,e2,a7// b7, b7/ g7,g7/ f7,g7.

The motet has three isorhythmic periods repeated in each larger section, the second of which is in diminution. Clearly the form of the music has dictated the form of the text. Moreover the short 2 syllable lines in triplum and motetus come together in each period of the first section in a short hoquet passage. The combined musical and poetic talent necessary to arrange this was considerable. Such an example indicates that the text was written either simultaneously with the music, or afterwards, since the hoquet passages seem to be necessarily prior to the 2 syllable lines. Ludwig notes that in the motets the placing of the text is often unclear in the best Machaut manuscripts, in contrast to the clear text underlaying in the lais, ballades, rondeaux and virelais.[1] This seems to confirm further that the

1 MW III, (105) 1.

procedure in motets was to set the texts to the music rather than the music to the texts.[1]

Throughout most of the thirteenth century the texts of the triplum and motetus were not necessarily related in subject. In the Ars nova motet, they are again related to each other (as in the very earliest form of the motet). Frequently with Machaut the upper voices are a commentary or trope of the tenor (even though the tenor was instrumentally performed.) The tenor of motet 23 (Felix virgo - Inviolata genitrix - Ad te suspiramus) in praise of the virgin is, very appropriately, a phrase from the Mary antiphon, Salve regina. This is even true, surprisingly enough, in many of the French motets, where the original significance of the religious text is given a new symbolic reference. (nr. 2, Tous corps qui - De sousirant cuer - Suspiro; nr. 4, De bon espoir - Puisque la douce - Speravi; nr. 13, Tant doucement m'ont attrait - Mins sue ma dame - Ruina, etc.)

Even if none of Machaut's other works were preserved, the motets would be enough to establish his astonishing musical talent. But midway through his career he virtually abandoned the motet. By 1349 at

1 In motet 1, as in others, there are untexted passages in the motetus.

the latest, and probably earlier, the motet disappeared almost entirely from his repertory. Possibly he realized that his ideals could be better expressed in forms which, in their ancestry, were more closely connected with courtly love. Or possibly he felt that the isorhythmic motet had reached its furthest point of development. At any rate, the change took place at the same time that Machaut arrived at his mature ballade style.

Chapter V

Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais

The ballades, rondeaux, and (to a lesser extent) the virelais, are the forms which embody Machaut's most radical innovations of musical style, and which made the greatest impression on the composers who followed him. The shift of emphasis in Machaut's repertory from motet to ballade is paralleled, on a larger scale, in the history of fourteenth century music as a whole. The difference between the repertories of a manuscript like the Ivrea codex, in the first part of the century, and the Chantilly codex, in the latter part, illustrates this same shift of emphasis. Besseler estimated that in the third quarter of the century ballades and motets had equal importance, while in the last quarter, the ballade took the lead.[1] In Machaut, as we have seen, the shift occurs much earlier, sometime in the forties, before Ivrea was even compiled. It seems clear that it was his example which was decisive for the latter

1 AfMW 8, 140.

part of the century.[1]

The ballades, rondeaux and virelais constitute the so-called "formes fixes," forms whose external structure was rigidly defined in the fourteenth century, to a large degree by Machaut himself. Their structure has a dual literary and musical basis. While the texts of a motet have no independent structure of their own, those of the "formes fixes" are literary genres in their own right. The large majority of the works which Machaut wrote in these forms are literary lyrics, not intended for musical composition, which make up the collection entitled the Louange des Dames. When these lyrics are set to music, the external form of the music necessarily reflects the literary structure. With the external form, the pattern of repetition, thus rigidly defined, the musical

1 It is interesting to note, in this connection, another theory of Besseler's, which helps explain why Machaut's influence, although strong, was not immediately felt. In two famous motets in praise of music, which list the names of contemporary musicians, Machaut's name is given a comparatively undistinguished place. Besseler suggests that Machaut, because of his service in foreign lands with the king of Bohemia, stood somewhat apart from the main circle of French musicians, and only in his later years attracted a circle of followers. (AfMW 7, 198.)

interest of these genres is concentrated in the internal form, the musical style of the works. It is in this area that their real importance and individuality lie.

Form and style in these works are not organic, as they are in the motets, or in troubadour-trouvère monody. Form here is not a principle of organization which permeates the entire fabric of the work, adapting itself to the individual work, but a mold, an outline to be filled. Yet it is this very stability of outline that may be said, paradoxically, to make possible the bold experimentalism of Machaut's style in the "formes fixes."

The ballades, rondeaux and virelais are descendants of thirteenth century dance songs, but their relationship to tradition is very different from that of the motet. The development of the fourteenth century motet is, as we have seen, continuous with that of the preceding period. Machaut's ballades and rondeaux, however, are the result of a radical re-evaluation of the corresponding thirteenth century forms. Their function, method of performance, and style have been thoroughly transformed. These changes will be discussed in the following section, where the

history of the external forms is taken up. But the most radical transformation of all is in the musical style, and for it there is no pre-history. It was Machaut's individual creation.

ii

In the thirteenth century, the ballades, rondeaux and virelais perform a definite social function in accompanying the carole, the circle dance of the middle ages. Both their form and their method of performance are a consequence of this function. They are all refrain forms, whose performance, as contemporary sources make clear, is divided between a soloist, who sings the verses, and a chorus who sings the refrain.[1] These refrain forms are more or less peculiar to the north of France, and (although the problem of origins is not fully settled) probably originate there.[2] There are provençal dance songs, baladas and dansas, but

1 Friedrich Gennrich, Grundriss einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes (Halle, 1932), 61.
Alfred Jeanroy, Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen Age (Paris, 1925), 392.

2 Jeanroy, Origines, 118, 119.

they are very rare, and it is probable that they are not earlier than their more numerous counterparts in the north of France.[1] They are, moreover, the only lyric forms for which so far no liturgical parallel or model is known.[2] In the thirteenth century, in contrast to their position in the fourteenth, refrain forms constitute a comparatively small part of the total repertory, and are far overshadowed by the more artistic trouvère chanson.

There is a well known principle (not always strictly followed) of the troubadours and trouvères, that each lyric must have its own individual structure. While the refrain forms are more narrowly defined than those of the freer chanson, still, in the thirteenth century, they have a similar variety of structure. They are not yet really "formes fixes." The genres, moreover, tend to overlap; virelai and rondeau are not strongly distinguished from each other.[3] The terminology is not strictly applied, and the forms

1 Jeanroy, La Poésie des Troubadours, II, 341-343, says that there are only six works which can definitely be identified as baladas.
2 Gennrich, Formenlehre, 62.
3 F. Gennrich, Musikwissenschaft und romanische Philologie (Halle, 1931), 34.
O. Ritter, Die Geschichte der französischen balladenformen (Halle, 1914), 47, 48.

often overlap. There are examples of mixed genres; a work may be textually a virelai, musically a rondeau.[1]

Among the so-called "formes fixes" the rondeau is the leading form in the thirteenth century. It is from the rondeau, as Gennrich has shown very convincingly, that the virelai and ballade evolve. (Gennrich, as one of the few scholars to take fully into account both literary and musical aspects, is, in general, the safest guide through the jungle of mediaeval forms.) The earliest rondeaux have a six line form:[2]

Text: a A a b A B
Music: S S S T S T

The typical eight line rondeau (or triolet) of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries develops from this six line form through the placing of the refrain at the beginning of the stanza as well as the end. (Text: A B a A a b A B.)[3]

1 Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen aus dem Ende des XII., des XIII. und dem ersten Drittel des XIV. Jahrhunderts mit den überlieferten Melodien (Dresden, 1921, 1927, 2vols.), II, 72.

2 To avoid using Greek letters, we have followed Apel's practice in French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century (Cambridge, 1950) of using letters from the beginning of the alphabet for the analysis of the text, and letters from the end of the alphabet for the music. In the analysis of the text, capital letters are used for the refrain.

3 Gennrich, Grundriss, 62, ff; Musikwissenschaft, 44. The terms "rondet," or "rondet de carole" and "rondel" are common in the thirteenth century. They have obvious reference to the circle dance which the rondeau accompanies. (Jeanroy, Origines, 112.)

There is little further development in the external form of the rondeau; its form is the earliest to be defined, and remains more stable than that of the virelai and ballade.[1] The individual sections may be expanded, a development that takes place already in the rondeaux of Adan de la Hale, but the basic structure remains the same.[2]

In the virelai[3] the refrain still surrounds the stanza as in the eight line rondeau, butthe inner

1 There is a large collection of Latin rondeaux in the Notre Dame manuscript Florence Pluteus 29.1, and Spanke sees in them the origin of the French rondeau. ("Das lateinische Rondeau," Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur 53 (1929-1930), 113.) There is no proof, however, that they antedate the earliest French rondeaux, and Gennrich rightly rejects Spanke's extremely complicated account of the origin of the rondeau. (Formenlehre, 63).

2 Gennrich, Formenlehre, 64, gives a table of 6, 8, 11, 13, 14, 16 and 18 line rondeaux.

3 The earliest form of the word is "virelî" or "virelîz," and seems to be originally merely a meaningless interjection used in refrains, later becoming "virelai" under the influence of "lai." (Jeanroy, Origines, 426, 427; Henri Chatelain, Recherches sur le Vers français au XVe siècle (Paris, 1908), 196. Cf. "Et Bernès se va vantant/ K'il dira du virellai/ Sus sus au virellin/ Sus sus au virelai." (Spanke, Zwei altfranzösische Minnesinger (Strassburg, 1907), 50, 51); and the texts quoted by Jeanroy, loc. cit. The theory that derives the term from "virer" (to turn) plus "lai" is dismissed by Paul Meyer as "pure fantaisie." ("Des Rapports de la Poésie des Trouvères avec celles des Troubadours", Romania 19, 26.) The form, of course, has nothing to do with the lai.

refrain is dropped, and the beginning of the stanza is no longer based on the refrain. The end of the stanza, however, is musically identical with the refrain; it is usually also identical in rhyme scheme, although this is not regularly true in the thirteenth century. The earliest known virelai, Guillaume d'Amiens' "C'est la fin, koique nus die," has the following form:[1]

Text:	A7	B3	c7	c7	c7	b4	A7 B3
Music:		S	T	T		S	S

In more developed forms of the virelai, the beginning of the stanza is expanded in couplets (ex: A B c d c d a b A B); the basic structure of the virelai, as reflected in the music, however, remains the same.[2]

The differentiation of the end of the stanza, as well as the beginning, from the refrain, produces the ballade, the form which becomes the leading genre of the fourteenth century. In the earliest form of the ballade, the refrain still surrounds the stanza. Example:

Text:	A	B/	c	d	c	d/	d	b A B
Music:	S		T		T		U	S

1 Gennrich, Formenlehre, 70; transcription, Rondeaux, I, 37.
2 Gennrich, Musikwissenschaft, 44; Formenlehre, 71, table of virelai structures.

The next stage in this development is the elimination of the initial refrain, and, finally, the reduction of the refrain to a single line. This produces the seven line form which was a favorite in the fourteenth century:[1]

	c	a	c	d	d	b	A
			or				
	a	b	a	b	c	c	D
			or				
	a	b	a	b	b	c	C
Music:	S		S		T		U
	or simply						
	S		S		T		

The earliest thirteenth century virelais and ballades were probably thought of simply as species of rondeaux (as indeed they were). At any rate, the forms do not seem to have been considered sufficiently distinct from each other to require a consistent use of terminology. Thus the polyphonic rondeaux[2] of Adam de la Halle, "Li rondel Adan," include what are in fact a virelai and a ballade.[3] The most extensive

1 Gennrich, Formenlehre, 75, ff; also Gennrich, "Ballade" in MGG, col. 1115, ff.

2 Gennrich, Rondeaux, nrs. 66-81.

3 The virelai "Vinas amouretes," Rondeaux, I, 57, nr. 69, and the Christmas ballade "Dieus soit en cheste maison," I, 60, nr. 81, both have the form:
A' 7, A 7 B 5, c 7 b 5 c 7 B 5 A* 7 A 7
T' T" U S
The form of this work is completely misinterpreted in HAM I, which reprints it from the outdated edition of Coussemaker, and describes it as "an early instance of the modern rondo, a b a b a, a form which did not come into general use until after 1650." (p. 219.)

collection of thirteenth century ballades is found, without music, in Oxford Douce 308, where the works are entitled "balletes." The collection includes, however, both ballades and virelais. The term is probably simply a diminutive of "bal," and has no very specific meaning.[1]

There is an often quoted passage in the prologue to Adan de la Halle's Jus du pelerin which speaks of his composition of "balades":

> "...ains savait canchons faire
> Partures et motés entés;
> De che fist il a grant plentés
> Et balades, je ne sai quantes."[2]

Since only one ballade of Adan survives (the Christmas song mentioned on the previous page), it is usually assumed that a number of his ballades have been lost.[3] But it is not certain that "balades" in this context refers to a particular form. We suggest that it may mean simply "dance songs" here, especially since there is no specific mention of Adan's rondeaux in the passage. If this interpretation is correct,

1 E. Stengel, "Der Strophensprung in der ältesten französischen Balladen und sein Verhältnis zum Refrain und Strophenrundstock," Z. f. frz. Sprache und Literatur, 18 (1896), 27, and Ritter, Balladenformen, 3, ff.

2 Gennrich, Rondeaux, II, 74; Meyer, "Des rapports...," 31.

3 Gennrich in MGG, col. 76.

the passage does account fully for the repertory of the Adam de la Halle manuscript, Paris, B.N. 25566, which contains chansons, jeux partis, rondeaux and motets.[1]

In many of the Oxford "balletes" the refrain still stands at the beginning and end of each stanza, just as it did in the ballade of Adam de la Halle. In others, it is given only after each stanza. There is a definite tendency for the ballade to have three stanzas, as it became the rule in the fourteenth century, but there are still works with one, two, four, or five stanzas. There is also a tendency for the same rhymes to be maintained in each stanza, another tendency which was elevated to the status of law in the fourteenth century. A little over two thirds of the works fulfill both requirements.[2]

The thirteenth century ballade, like the rondeau and virelai, in keeping with its nature as a dance form, preferred short, irregular lines (especially five and seven syllable lines), and a heterometric stanza. The fourteenth century preference for ten

1 Jeanroy, Chansonniers, 12.
2 Ritter, on. cit., 6, ff.

syllable lines and an isometric stanza is one of many signs that the dance forms have lost their original function and status.

But before going on to the changes which these dance forms undergo in the fourteenth century, there is a further problem to be discussed. It is a problem which indeed has much bearing on these changes: that of the relationship between the ballade and the trouvère chanson. Once the ballade has lost its initial refrain, its structure (musically now S S T) is similar to a favorite structure of the trouvère chanson, and, indeed, one of the basic musical-poetic structures of all times. The Germans call it Barform, and call the repeated couplets Stollen, and the second section Aufgesang. Dante describes the sections as pedes and cauda. This structure is exemplified in many troubadour and trouvère chansons, in Latin songs, in the Minnelied, and, on a larger scale, in the strophe-antistrophe-epode of the Pindaric ode.[1] When, as sometimes happens, this structure also has a refrain, it approximates even more closely the form of the

1 Cf. Jeanroy, La Poésie des Troubadours, II, 70.

ballade.[1] Does this mean that Gennrich's theory of the development of the ballade from the rondeau and virelai must be rejected? We think not, for several reasons. In the first place, it is not until the beginning of the fourteenth century that the ballade begins to appropriate the form of the chanson à refrain. In the thirteenth century the two genres differ in important respects. The predominance in the thirteenth century ballade of short irregular lines, contrasts with the predominance of eight or ten syllable lines in the chanson. More important, the thirteenth century ballade generally uses a refrain of two lines, its inheritance from the rondeau and virelai, while the chanson à refrain has a refrain of one line, and sometimes even of a single word. Although some scholars seem to assume that all refrain forms are dance forms, it is improbable that the chanson à refrain was used to accompany the dance or that its refrains were set off in performance by the alternation of soloist and chorus. The chanson refrain is thus

1 Examples: the famous alba of Giraut de Bornelh, reprinted in Besse, op. cit., 215; the chanson à refrain of Thibaut de Navarre, Ibid., 224, there called a ballade; the conductus, Dantu viscera Marie in AH, 156.

less functional than that of the ballade.[1]

What happens in the fourteenth century is that the ballade begins to usurp the function of the chanson in the preceding century, and at the same time is influenced by its form. The use of longer lines, and the reduction of the refrain to a single line are probably influenced by the chanson. At the same time the ballade ceases to be a dance form. This process of sophisticating the simple dance form through devices inherited from the courtly chanson continues after Machaut's time in the work of Deschamps, with the addition of an envoy to the ballade. The fourteenth century ballade, however, inherits one of its most distinctive traits from the thirteenth century ballade, and not from the chanson: the number of

1 Cf. Ritter, op. cit., 261. Modern musicologists have tended to blur the distinction between the thirteenth century ballade and the chanson. The MaN presents as ballades even works which have no refrain. All of the thirteenth century works which this anthology presents as ballades are, in fact, chansons or chansons à refrain. (Nrs. 16 a, b; nr. 30.) The anthology, moreover, does not consistently underline refrains or print in full the literary texts. Since literary as well as musical considerations determine the difference between the ballade and the chanson, this practice tends to be misleading. Apparently as a result of this confusion between ballade and chanson, the notes to MaN state that "the great majority of the troubadour songs are written in one of three strictly fixed forms" (ballade, rondeau, and virelai), p. 216. Actually the "formes fixes" are very much in the minority in the thirteenth century.

stanzas, which is regularly three in the ballade, five or six in the chanson. By this trait even the fourteenth century ballade is sufficiently differentiated from the earlier chanson à refrain.

The forms which we have been discussing at some length do not actually begin to assume real importance until the fourteenth century. If we were to draw up a hierarchy of musical genres in the thirteenth century, the dance songs would rank far below the trouvère chanson or polyphonic forms like the motet and conductus, both in quantity and in quality.[1] Even the dance forms themselves, moreover, the rondeau was the most widely cultivated, and was the form which influenced the development of the others. In the fourteenth century this relationship of the dance forms to the total repertory and to each other is completely reversed. The "formes fixes" (they are no longer, strictly speaking, dance forms), become, in Machaut's work, the leading genres, among which the ballade is foremost.

The ballade around the beginning of the fourteenth century is represented in the works incorporated

1 Gennrich collected 379 dance songs, of which 162 have music, while the output of the trouvères has been estimated at over 2000 works. Cf. AMl, 161, 162.

in the Roman de Fauvel, and in the works of Jehannot de l'Escurel, Nicole de Margival, Jehan Acart de Hesdin, and Jehan de la Mote. It is worth noting that there is still some confusion of terminology in Fauvel. The work "Providence la senée" is explicitly called a "balade", although its structure is that of a virelai.[1]

With the exception of Jehan de la Mote, these writers cultivate the ballade in forms which are somewhat closer to the thirteenth century ballade than to that of Machaut and Deschamps. The trend towards a three stanza form, already observable in the thirteenth century ballade, is strengthened in the work of these writers, but there are still works which do not observe the three stanza rule, and refrains of two lines are still found.

The fourteenth century ballade type seems to be first established in the early work of Machaut. There is an interesting contrast to be made between the ballades which Machaut was writing in the twenties and thirties and the lyrics inserted in the Prise

1 Le Roman de Fauvel, reproduction photographique, ed. Pierre Aubry, folio 23v.

Amoureuse of Jehan Acart de Hesdin, which dates from 1332. Instead of the rich variety of earlier ballade structures, in Machaut's work the ballade is standardized to a few types. Eight of Acart's nine ballades, on the other hand, are in different forms. Nor is the preference of the classic fourteenth century ballade for ten syllable lines and isometric stanzas observable in the works of Acart.[1] The fourteenth century ballade, as represented in Machaut's work, is a poem of three stanzas, the last line of each stanza being repeated as the refrain,[2] and the same rhymes being maintained in all three stanzas. The first half of the stanza is always symmetrical, and, with a very few exceptions, consists of four lines rhyming alternately ab ab. The two favorite forms for the stanza are:

a b/ a b/ b c C for the seven line stanza
and
a b/ a b/ c c d D for the eight line stanza.

These two types account for over four fifths of all Machaut's ballades, including those with music.[3] For the seven line stanza, Machaut usually uses a deca-

1 Koepffner, ed., La Prise Amoureuse von Jehan Acart de Hesdin (Dresden, 1910), lvi, ff.
2 There are three ballades out of a total of two hundred and thirty-two with a refrain of two lines.
3 Statistics can be found in Ritter, o. cit., 91, ff.

syllabic line with an octosyllabic one as second choice. For the eight line stanza, his favorite form is a10 b10 a10 b10 c7 b10 d10 D10 with the short fifthe line (vers coupez in Deschamp's terminology - the first example that Deschamps gives of a ballade is of this type.)[1] As Moepffner points out, this use of a short fifth line is one of the few mixtures of lines of different lengths still permissible in the fourteenth century ballade.[2]

From a literary point of view, Machaut's ballades show the delight in rich rhyme, and complicated rhyme play which is typical of the "seconde rhétorique." Whether it is to his credit or not, he is the first of the "rhétoriqueurs." His early works include such a tour de force as a "balade equivoque, retrograde, et leonine," ("les plus fors balades qui se puissent faire," according to Deschamps):[3]

> Douce dame, vo maniere jolie
> Lie en amours mon cuer et mon desir
> Desirrament, si que, sans tricherie,
> Cherie adès en serès, sans partir.

1 Deschamps, Oeuvres, VII, 274.
2 MO II, xlvii.
3 "Il couvient que la derreniere sillabe de chaque ver soit reprinse au commencement du ver ensuient, en autre signification et en autre sens que la fin du ver precedent." Deschamps, Oeuvres, VII, 277.

Partir vaut miex que d'autre souvenir
Venir peust en moy, qui en ardure
Durement vif et humblement l'endure.

Dure à moy seul, de tous biens assevie
Vie d'onneur plaisant à maintenir ...
etc. for three stanzas.[1]

Machaut's position as the founder of the fourteenth century ballade style, on the literary side, is open to challenge. Hoepffner has advanced the claims of Jehan de la Mote, thirty of whose ballades are included in the poem "Li Regret Guillaume, conte de Hainaut," which dates from 1339. These works exhibit the same tendencies that we have discussed in connection with Machaut's ballades. Hoepffner suggests that as the earliest datable types of the new ballade they may have influenced Machaut's early work.[2] But he assumes that Machaut's ballade composition does not date much before 1340. As we have tried to show in a previous chapter, Machaut's writing

1 MP I, 78. It is "retrograde" because the first word of every line is identical with the last syllable or syllables of the preceding line, "equivoque" because this repetition must be of the same sound but with different meaning, and "leonine" in using rich rhyme.

2 Hoepffner, "Die Balladen des Dichters Jehan de la Mote," ZfRP 35 (1911), 164, 165.

in the "formes fixes" very probably goes back to the beginning of his artistic career in the twenties.

A more serious claim for priority can be made for Philippe de Vitry, on the basis of statements in the Règles de seconde rhétorique. Vitry and Machaut are listed, the one after the other, with the following description of their accomplishments:

> "Après vint Philippe de Vitry, qui trouva la maniere des notès et des balades, et des lais, et des simples rondeaux, et en la musique trouva les iiij prolacions, et les notes rouges, et la novelté des proporcions.
>
> Après vint maistre Guillaume de Machault, le grant rhétorique de nouvelle fourme, qui commencha toutes tailles nouvelles, et les parfais lays d'amours."[1]

The Règles de seconde rhétorique, it should be recalled, dates from the early fifteenth century, and its testimony here is not entirely free from ambiguity. The claims made for Vitry and Machaut seem to overlap somewhat. Vitry is said to have invented the style (manner) of motets, ballades and rondeaux, yet it is Machaut who seems to be credited with the greater formal innovation. (The lais are given particular mention because they were reputed, from a literary

1 Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique, ed. Langlois, 12.

point of view, the most difficult and highly artistic of forms.) Nor is it clear whether the author has in mind musical or literary contributions in speaking of Vitry's motets, ballades, lais, and rondeaux, since he seems to distinguish between these and Vitry's specifically musical accomplishments. The musical innovations of technical nature mentioned here are, of course, the same for which other fourteenth century theorists praise Vitry. No mention at all is made of Machaut's music. He seems to be known to the anonymous author of the Règles only as a poet.

Vitry's lais and rondeaux are lost. One ballade, however, has been found.[1] It is part of a kind of dialogue between three poets, and does not seem to be intended for musical composition. The series of six ballades in which it is included is anterior to 1339,[2] and one of the other poets involved is Jehan de la Mote, whose ballades, as we have seen, were comparable to those of Machaut. Thus, although we cannot conclude too much about Vitry's ballades from this single example, there is a real possibility that Vitry's

1 E. Jorgen, "Ballades mythologiques de J. de Le Mote, Ph. de Vitry et J. Campion," Humanisme et Renaissance 5 (1938), 385, ff.

2 Ibid., 390, 391.

lost ballades established him, rather than Machaut, as the founder of the fourteenth century form. Whether Vitry may also have anticipated the musical style which Machaut invented for the ballade is a question which will be discussed in the next section.

The form of Machaut's rondeaux requires comparatively little discussion. The standard eight line form of the thirteenth century survives unchanged into the fourteenth, and seventeen of the twenty-one rondeaux intended for music are of this form. The other four have refrains of more than two lines. In three cases the refrain has the form A B/ B, which, when expanded, produces a thirteen line rondeau, while one rondeau (nr. 5) has a refrain of six lines, A4 A4 B4/A4 A4 B4, which produces a twenty-four line rondeau. The most important changes, which are probably brought about through the influence of the ballade, are the use of ten-syllable lines and the observance of strict isometry. All of the rondeaux are isometric; thirteen with decasyllabic lines, five with octosyllabic lines, and only three with lines of seven syllables or less.

The virelais have a somewhat different relation to tradition than the ballades and rondeaux. This is evident, as we shall see, in both their poetic and

musical structure. The ballades and rondeaux of the fourteenth century have lost their practical function as an accompaniment to the dance. They also emerge, for the first time, as purely literary lyrics. Where thirteenth century dance songs survive without music, it can be assumed that the music has been lost. In the fourteenth century, the literary lyric predominates. Deschamps, although he insists that music and poetry enhance each other, admits that in his time poets ordinarily have no acquaintance with music proper.[1] In the work of Machaut, there are close to two hundred literary ballades and over fifty rondeaux for forty ballades and twenty rondeaux which are set to music. The virelai, although it too becomes in Deschamps' work a literary lyric, is still, with Machaut, always intended for music. The single virelai which is included in the Louange reappears in the music sections of the manuscripts. There is evidence, moreover, that the Machaut virelais, at least the monodic ones, still accompanied the dance. On the literary side, this is reflected in the use of short lines of different lengths -- which is characteristic of the virelai as

1 Oeuvres, VII, 271.

it is uncharacteristic of the ballade and rondeau.[1] The virelai also retains much of the variety of form which it had in the preceding century. It is not so standardized, so limited to a few set forms, as is the ballade. There are scarcely any two virelais which have exactly the same form. The number of verses and the number of syllables changes, and the interior organization of the stanza is often very complex. The general outline of the form, however, remains the same as for the thirteenth century: a refrain, followed by a symmetrical section ("ouvert" and "clos", in Deschamps' terminology), a second section constructed on the same rhymes as the refrain, and finally the refrain again. Like the ballade, it has three stanzas. The first of Machaut's virelais has, for instance, the following structure:

A6A6A6A6B6/ c8d6c8d6c8d6c8d6/ a6b6a6b6b6/ A6A6A6A6B6
R T T S S

The number of lines in the refrain may vary, ranging, according to Deschamps, from four to seven. It is thus a more expanded form than the virelai of the preceding century. A further sophistication introduced

1 Cf. MO II, xlviii.

by Machaut is to make the first half of the stanza contain the same rhymes as the refrain, though arranged in a different order. The structure of Machaut's seventh virelai, for example, is as follows:

A7A7A7B5/ A7A7A7B5// b7b7b7a5b7b7b7a5// a7a7a7b5
a7a7a7b5// A7A7A7B5/ A7A7A7B5.

Here the refrain is also symmetrical.

Thus, all of the "formes fixes" assume in the fourteenth century a more artistic, more sophisticated form than their ancestors. In literary content, they continue the spirit of the courtly chanson,[1] but they substitute a more or less rigid schematization of external form for the freer, more individually conceived forms of the chansons which they displace. But important as these transformations are, they are slight in comparison with the revolution of musical style that takes place within Machaut's work.

1 This is true for the work of Machaut, but less so for that of Deschamps, whose introduction of new kinds of subject-matter in forms hitherto devoted more or less exclusively to the courtly love tradition would seem to be an important literary contribution. In the fifteenth century, the poetry of Charles d'Orléans follows (generally speaking) the spirit of Machaut, while the poetry of Villon follows and deepens the spirit of Deschamps.

iii

Machaut's musical reinterpretation of the "formes fixes" has a two-fold implication. First, he applied polyphony to forms which up to his time had been almost exclusively monodic. Secondly, the polyphonic style that he invented in his ballades and rondeaux destroyed the traditional word-tone relationship that had hitherto prevailed in the trouvère chanson and in the dance forms.

Music historians are apt to think of the thirteenth century as the age of the organum, the polyphonic conductus and the motet. And they are right, to the extent that these are the new, the progressive genres of the period -- the only genres with a historical future. But it should not be forgotten that there were also thousands of monodic works, and that these have an equally important part in the total picture, even though they were soon to die out, to come to a historical dead-end. Machaut's ballades and rondeaux thus represent the conquest of polyphony over the last stronghold of monodic music. His monodic virelais and lais, on the other hand, are the last representatives of an archaic style, a style which

had become archaic partly through his own achievements in the field of polyphony. Machaut's ballades and rondeaux, moreover, are among the first examples of a polyphony that is purely secular in origin. Mediaeval polyphony had originated and developed in the liturgical sphere, "pro servitio divino multiplicando."[1] The secular offshoot of the organum, the motet, still owed many of its features to its liturgical parent.

So new is Machaut's ballade style that it is difficult to find any predecessors for it. It owes very little to previous polyphonic styles, and it is quite distinct from them. Polyphony had been applied sporadically to the "formes fixes" before Machaut, but in a style quite distinct from that of his early ballades. The sixteen "rondel" of Adam de la Halle and a single rondeau of Johannot de l'Escurel are, indeed, the only polyphonic examples extant. The Adam de la Halle "rondel" (which included one ballade and one virelai) are in three voices, in a syllabic note-against-note style which preserves the rhythmic unity of poetry and music characteristic of trouvère melody. The simultaneous movement of all three voices

1 CS I, 394 (Anonymous IV).

(as in the conductus) is at the opposite extreme from the radical linear independence of Machaut's ballade style. Apparently other composers were not influenced by Adam's example in giving to dance forms a polyphonic setting, for until the time of Machaut they continue to write these dance forms as monodic. The fourteen "rondeaux, balades et refrez de chançons" interpolated in the Roman de Fauvel are all monodic, as are all but one of the works of Jehannot de l'Escurel, included in the same manuscript (B.N. frç. 146).[1] Although no music survives for the lyrics in Acart's Frise amoureuse of 1332, there is room left between the lines for music, as if the scribe had copied from a manuscript which included music.[2] But only enough space is left for monodic settings.[3]

The single polyphonic rondeau of Jehannot de l'Escurel (d. 1303), "A vous douce debonnaire,"[4] is, like those of Adam, in three voices moving more or

1 Le Roman de Fauvel, Reproduction photographique, ed. Aubry.
2 Roesffner, ed., Le Frise Amoureuse..., vii.
3 Ludwig in SIMG 4, 34.
4 Gennrich, Rondeaux, nr. 368.

less simultaneously. Its harmonic clarity and use of thirds and sixths, quite remarkable in this period,[1] is quite unlike the deliberate dissonance frequently produced by Machaut's linear counterpoint.[2] Jehannot's rondeau may be closer to Machaut than to Adam in its melismatic treatment of the text. We may perhaps see in it the beginning of the dissolution of the former unity of word and tone. But the way in which melisma is used is very different from that typical of Machaut. Almost every syllable of the text is underlined by melisma in Jehannot's rondeau. There is no contrast between melismatic passages and quick syllabic declamation as there is in Machaut. The total effect of Jehannot's piece is, in fact, entirely different from that of any of Machaut's ballades and rondeaux.

In the rondeaux of Adam de la Halle and of Jehannot, the voices are probably intended to be performed as vocal parts, while Machaut's ballade style requires soloistic performance with instrumental accompaniment.

1 Besseler, Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, 126.

2 The middle voice of this rondeau also appears as a monodic work. (Ludwig in SIMG VI, 610.)

It has been suggested, on the grounds of this combination, that Machaut's ballade style may in some way be a continuation of the two-voice French motet of the early thirteenth century.[1] Since the tenors were instrumentally performed, these motets are, of course, examples of solo songs with instrumental accompaniment. But this is the sole point of comparison. The style of these thirteenth century motets is naturally quite unlike that of Machaut's a hundred years later, and the whole technique of composition was entirely different, since the motets were written over liturgical tenors. There is also a single polyphonic chanson extant, in two voices with a simple accompaniment, in the Chansonnier Bourdelot (B.N. frç. 846, f. 21) and Ludwig suggests that similar accompaniments may sometimes have been improvised in performance.[2] But none of these works can be considered in any significant way a model for Machaut's ballade style.

What of the possibility that Machaut may have found a model in the work of Philippe de Vitry, who

1 Ludwig in AM, 231. Cf. the rondeau-motets in Gennrich, Rondeaux, nrs. 28-33 and nr. 35, from the Chansonnier Noailles, Paris, B.N. frç. 12615.

2 SIMG 4, 35.

is said to have written ballades and rondeaux? It appears unlikely. In the motets, where Vitry's influence is evident, Machaut seems to accept the musical model of his predecessor without questioning or transforming it. There is little real development within the genre, no break between the early and the late works. In the ballades, on the other hand, there are, as we shall see, important differences between the early and late works. Machaut reached his mature ballade style only gradually, after having experimented with various possibilities. In Vitry's treatise, moreover, and in the works of the theorists under his influence, the emphasis is entirely on the motet. If Vitry had originated the new ballade style, we should expect his influence to be felt sooner and in a wider sphere. But it was not until the last part of the fourteenth century, after Machaut's influence had had a chance to be felt, that the new style was equally represented and finally displaced the motet in the general repertory. Thus it is probable that if Vitry did set ballades and rondeaux to music, they were either monodic or in the simple conductus-like style which prevailed before Machaut.

iv

The ballade, from a musical as well as from a literary standpoint, is the most important of the "formes fixes" -- and indeed of all Machaut's musical categories. It is in the ballade that the new style originates, and only afterwrads is this style transferred to the rondeau. (Machaut's conception of the virelai, as we shall see, differs from his conception of the other "formes fixes.")

The various chronological stages which can be distinguished in the manuscripts are also distinct stylistic stages in the development of the ballade. There are three such stages, the first including ballades 1-16, the second, ballades 17-24 and the two ballades from the Remede, and the third, ballades 25-40.[1] The last two ballades (39 and 40) were written in Machaut's late period (the stage represented by the manuscripts A and F-G), but stylistically they belong with the mature works of Machaut's middle period.

The most obvious characteristic of the first sixteen ballades, Machaut's earliest creations in the genre, is that they are all for two rather than for

1 Cf. Chapter III, and table.

three voices. This fact is in itself significant in showing that Machaut's conception of the ballade was not influenced by the kind of polyphonic form given to it by earlier composers.

This early group of ballades dates from about the same period as all but four of Machaut's motets, and a glance at the very first of the series of ballades may suggest a link between the two genres. This work, "S'amours ne fait," which may well be Machaut's first composition in the ballade, is strictly isorhythmic, each line of the text being treated as a talea. The first and second taleae are, of course, repeated, in accordance with the form of the ballade, with two different endings, the "ouvert" and "clos." A different talea is used for the second half of the ballade, and the piece is thus a rather ingenious combination of isorhythm with ballade structure. Superficially the work resembles the two upper voices of the hoquet section of a motet. But closer examination shows that there are important differences. Only the upper voice is here provided with text, and the tenor is instrumental, while in the motet, of course, both upper voices are provided with texts.[1] The two-voice

1 Although it is sometimes unclear in mediaeval music which voices are intended for instrumental performance, the situation is clear in Machaut's ballades since the text of the cantus simply cannot be made to fit the instrumental voice (or voices).

ballade combination, moreover, lacks the support of the slow moving motet tenor. This is a more important musical difference than may appear on paper. The slow, rationally ordered cantus firmus produced in the motet an effect of stability very different from that of the ballade. This effect of instability, of greater intensity, is further heightened in the ballade by the use of melisma, and certain rhythmic features.

The normal declamation in the motet is syllabic, with only occasional small melismas. In hoquet passages, especially in the motetus, it is true that one can find examples of more extended melismatic treatment, but syllabic declamation is still the norm. In this ballade, on the other hand, the contrast between fairly extended melismatic passages and passages in syllabic declamation, typical of the ballade as a genre, is already present, though to a lesser degree than in many later works. "S'Amours ne fait" is in imperfect tempus with perfect prolation, the same metrical combination which was the norm for the motet. But the rhythm which Machaut gives this meter is just the opposite of that which is usual in the motet. In Machaut's treatment of perfect prolation in the motets

the longer value was almost invariably placed first, and examples of the reverse rhythm were rare. Here Machaut prefers the sharper, more insistent rhythm with the shorter value placed first, and freely mixes the two forms of triplet rhythm, simultaneously playing them off against each other in different voices. This is not merely an isolated detail of a single composition. This treatment of rhythm applies to all the ballades in perfect prolation, and is as characteristic of them as it is uncharacteristic of the motet. Even rhythmic detail is expressive of the intense ballade, as contrasted with the more placid motet. If Machaut, in his early ballade composition took the isorhythmic motet, however briefly, as a model, his keen sense of style separation led him to differentiate the two genres so that the musical effect of each is quite unmistakable.

But this isorhythmic ballade is the only one of its kind. Although the outer form of the ballade is rigidly determined by its poetic form, the inner character of its musical style is not in keeping with the kind of schematization which isorhythm exemplifies.

The two-voice combination of cantus and instrumental tenor in the early ballades is of great importance

for the later development of the form, since even when other voices are added, it remains the core of the composition. In two ballades from the earliest group (nrs. 3 and 4) a third voices has been added in the manuscript E, probably to modernize them in accordance with later conceptions. Their original form, however, as all the other manuscripts show, was for two voices.

To digress for a moment from the early ballades, we might notice that in E a total of six ballades and one rondeau have added voices which do not appear in the other principal manuscripts. These added voices may be the work of Machaut himself.[1] But it seems to me more probable, taking into account the character of the manuscripts, that another composer, a follower of Machaut, had a hand in E. Possibly it was this anonymous composer who contributed the two lais which appear in no other manuscripts, works which musically are enough unlike Machaut's other lais to

1 In the Voir Dit Machaut does speak of a rondeau to which, he says, he has written a new tenor and contretenor. This is the work of which Peronne complains that she has seen it before and already knows it. (Voir Dit, 242, 250.)

raise a question of authenticity.

The instrumental ballade tenor (to return to the early ballade) is, of course, something very different from a motet tenor. The metrical contrast which exists between tenor and upper parts of a motet is missing in the ballade. The cantus part in the ballade is the livelier part, but the tenor is far more than a mere structural support. It has definite melodic character of its own, and at times, when the cantus is resting or holding, emerges as the chief melodic part.

It is difficult to say which of the two voices was written first. The problem arises because successive rather than simultaneous composition of voices is the norm for mediaeval polyphony. Often the two voices work together in such a way that it is difficult to imagine their not having been conceived simultaneously. But there are many passages in the motets where we have the same impression; yet we know that the motetus and triplum were written successively over the pre-composed tenor. Perhaps the problem is a false one, however. Certainly the mediaeval composer, like any real composer, must have had a com-

ception of the whole before he began the actual work of composition. Thus the technique of successive composition of voices did not necessarily disturb the organic unity of the whole. At the same time, it probably encouraged the composer to individualize the different voices, and to preserve their melodic integrity.

From the very beginning, the treatment of rhythm in the ballade is quite distinct from that of the motet. For one thing, there is much greater variety of rhythm in the ballade. This is apparent even in the early ballades which date from the same period as the motets. Of the first sixteen, one is in perfect tempus with perfect prolation (nr. 10), five in imperfect tempus with perfect prolation (nrs. 1, 2, 7, 8, 12), five in imperfect tempus and prolation (nrs. 3, 5, 6, 11, 15), and five in perfect tempus with imperfect prolation (nrs. 4, 9, 13, 14, 16). There is a definite preference for imperfect prolation, a preference even more marked in the ballade repertory as a whole, where there are over twice as many works in imperfect as in perfect prolation. Such a preference is by no means an arbitrary

one. It is undoubtedly related to the greater possibilities for syncopation inherent in imperfect prolation. Syncopation could be achieved in perfect prolation through the use of rests, but only in imperfect prolation could it be carried through an uninterrupted melodic line. Exploitation of syncopated effects is indeed a basic stylistic feature of Machaut's ballades.

Another feature peculiar to this style, already well established in the early works, is Machaut's use of melisma, a use which is difficult to describe in general terms because, like almost every musical technique used in the ballades, it is unsystematic. There is no regular occurrence of melisma at specified points as there is in the polyphonic conductus, or in the madrigals of Machaut's Italian contemporaries, who use melismas to underline the first and penultimate syllable of every verse line. While in Machaut the favorite places for melisma are at the beginning of the work, and the passages leading up to the cadence, there is no hard and fast rule. Many final cadences are also approached syllabically. There is constant contrast in every work between melismatic and syllabic

declamation, but the particular form which this contrast takes is adapted to each individual work.

It is Machaut's use of melisma which dissolves the unity of word and tone found in the trouvère chanson and in the thirteenth century dances songs, whose musical rhythm is an interpretation of the poetic rhythm of the text. This older tradition is still carried on in Machaut's lais, and, to some extent, in the virelais.

This unity was, of course, purely rhythmic, not one of meaning or expression.

> "There could be no question of musical expression in melody such as that of the troubadours and trouvères, where formality reigned absolute; but the melodic phrase was the reflection of the verses to which it was linked, their counterpart, a magnified, sonorous echo."[1]

Nor is melisma in Machaut's music expressive in this sense; it is neither descriptive of particular words, nor is it an attempt to heighten the intensity of particular points in the text. It may fall on an article, or on the most insignificant syllable. But in trouvère monody, and in Machaut's lais, the musical

1 Pierre Aubry, Trouvères and Troubadours, trans. from the second French edition (G. Schirmer, 1914), p. 8.

and poetic phrase are still in harmony. In the ballades and rondeaux, the musical phrase may begin and end in complete independence of the poetic phrase. Except for determining the outer form, the text no longer has any influence over the musical style. If the author of the Speculum Musicae wrote late enough to know Machaut's ballade style, there is some justice in his complaint that in the music of the moderni the "words are lost."[1] When one has to wait three or four measures for the last syllable of a word to come, not once but many times in the course of a composition, the continuity of the text is easily lost. Musically, however, the effect is completely justified. Such is the independence of the musical phrase, that new phrases often begin within the

1 Strunk, Source Readings in Music History, 189, 190. Complaints about the difficulty of understanding the words had often been directed against polyphonic music, particularly against the motet, with its simultaneous texts. Few of the thirteenth century attacks, however, have the bitterness of Jacobus in the Speculum. One thirteenth century writer rather naively meets the objection to the motet by insisting that God, at least, could understand three or more texts at the same time, since he listens to and understands simultaneously the music of the spheres, the songs of praise of innumerable angels and all creatures, and the prayers of the faithful and hymns of thousands of churches. (Passage quoted in Norseth, op. cit., IV, 71.)

melisma[1] (examples in ballades 3, 14, 16).

So great is the variety of types within the ballade that further inquiry into the nature of the genre, as exemplified in the early ballades, may best be served by referring to particular examples. In some works, the tenor is a fairly simple accompanying part. The tenor of nr. 12, for example, except for an initial flourish, does not participate in the lively motion of the cantus. Another simple tenor is the accompaniment to nr. 9, "Dame ne regardes pas", with a cantus whose lively dotted rhythm, repeated in nearly every measure, makes this work seem closer than any other to the spirit of the dance song. At the other extreme is a highly individualized tenor like that of ballade 15. At the beginning of the

1 The author of the Liber Musicalium, attributed to Vitry, but of doubtful authorship, states that it is permissible to rest between syllables of a single word in melismatic passages:

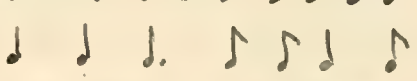
"Cognoscant qui cantare volunt, quod nunquam inter sillabas ejusdem dictionis pausare licet de jure ratione cantus, nisi forte plures note sub eadem sillaba fuerint; tunc inter notas ejusdem sillabe poterint pausare, ita quod residuas notas reservent cum eadem sillaba preinceptas..." CS III, 46.

Other writers were apparently inclined to agree with the Speculum. Paul Meyer quotes a Latin poem in which rhetoric complains that many singers have introduced mistakes into her works by dividing the words by rests (faciendo suspiria). "Chansons latines et françaises," Bull.de la SATF 34 (1905), 48.

work the tenor is the leading voice, higher in pitch than the cantus, and more active rhythmically. Both voices are extremely syncopated, and provide a good example of the way in which Machaut gives to each voice characteristic rhythmic patterns, often working against each other.

Example: Ballade 15, measure 8

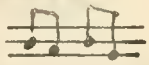
Cantus (3/2)

Tenor (3/2) 

In the same piece we can also notice how Machaut unifies the two main sections by making each begin in the same way, the second time at a higher pitch (Cf. ballades 2, 14). This device is used by Machaut often enough to mark a definite trend. It is a regular procedure, moreover, to have the change to the second section of the ballade marked by a shift to a higher range in the cantus part.

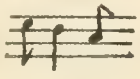
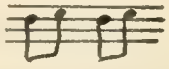
The refrain of this same work (ballade 15) is set off by a rest (Cf. nrs. 3, 4, 11, 16). In two other works from the early group of ballades, the refrain is distinguished from the rest of the piece by a sudden shift to a much slower rhythm. In nr. 12, this slowing down, which accompanies the refrain, be

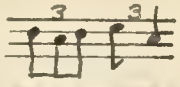
je chent mains que ne sueil" has a strongely symbolic effect. But it is doubtful that such an effect is planned, since the same rhythmic shift occurs in the following ballade (nr. 13), to the refrain "que j'ain dame, s'aten merci." In both works there is evidence to indicate that Machaut was simply quoting (verbally and musically) thirteenth century refrains,[1] which he would have found written in longer values.

Machaut's fourth ballade, "Biauté qui toutes autres pere,"[2] can give us a starting point for the discussion of several musical techniques extremely important in his ballade style: use of motifs, and use of accidentals. A simple descending motif of four notes, approached from below, is introduced in the first phrase of the work, and is repeated at numerous points in both voices throughout the ballade, becoming especially prominent in the cadence, where it is developed sequentially. A second motif,  , first introduced in the tenor, also plays an important

1 MW I, 11, 12, notes.
2 It is the only one of the early ballades which was reproduced in fourteenth century manuscripts containing works of composers other than Machaut.

though secondary role. Where the tenor is not using this motivic material, it moves in a series of syncopated breves, producing with the cantus typical cross-rhythms.[1] Such repetition of motifs is extremely typical of Machaut's ballade style.[2] These two motifs, and a few others, equally simple, appear over and over again in Machaut's works, particularly in the ballades and rondeaux.

Examples:  

or, in triple rhythm, 

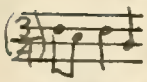
Their inversions also appear, but the descending form of all but the second is more common, in keeping with Machaut's preference for falling lines.

These motifs, however, are not true thematic material. They are not so much starting points for thematic development as building units, bits of mosaic to be combined and recombined in a countless variety of patterns. We chose ballade 4 to illustrate the repetition of motifs, because it is particularly obvious there, more obvious, in fact, than in most

1 On the notation of this syncopation, see Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 356.

2 A good discussion of the motivic unity in Machaut is found in Perle, "Integrative Devices in the Music of Machaut," MQ 34, 169, ff.

ballades. The kind of unity the motifs give the work is usually a concealed unity, as it is to some extent even here. The reappearances of motifs can easily pass unnoticed in performance, because they appear each time as parts of larger wholes, in new configurations. The very simplicity of the motifs themselves makes them tend to disappear into the larger phrases of which they form integral parts. In ballade 4, the descending four-note motif first appears, rather inconspicuously, in the middle of the first phrase. In measure 12, the tenor echoes it more prominently in a short phrase, while in measure 15 it reoccurs at the end of the cantus phrase just before the refrain. It comes into prominence as a self-subsistent entity only in the sequential passages which precede the final cadences of each section.

In ballade 9, to use another example, the motif,  , introduced in the second section, is repeated five times, each time in a different context. Lachaut also makes this motif part of a larger unit of three measures to which he extends the device of concealed repetition. This three measure unit begins the phrase preceding the refrain, and is incorporated identically

into the midst of the first phrase of the refrain (measures 45-47= 53-55). Identical motifs and larger units such as these seem to undergo kaleidoscopic changes in their new surroundings; acoustically they are identical, but their musical meaning has changed. In such a situation as this, one has, at first, merely a vague impression that the two phrases are somehow alike, and only subsequent analysis reveals the repetition. Reese's description of isorhythm as a form which "produces a unifying effect without its being possible for the listener to know at first hearing how that effect results,"[1] applies equally, if not more, to Machaut's work with motifs.

In ballade 4, we saw that the cadences, and the four measure sequential passages preceding them, were identical in each section. Several examples of this device, often called "musical rhyme," are found among the early ballades, although it is used somewhat more frequently in the later works. It is characteristic of the ballade to have both sections end on the same degree of the scale, even when musical rhyme is not present. (Only six of the forty ballades are exceptional in this respect.)

1 Music in the Middle Ages, 339.

musical rhyme, like the "ouvert" and "clos," was not an innovation of Machaut, but was inherited from the trouvère chanson and the monodic ballade.[1] When sequences such as these are used, they are usually found in the passages leading up to the final cadence. Sequence, like all obvious repetitive devices, is more often avoided by Machaut.

The very first phrase of ballade 4 is a good illustration of Machaut's melodic writing and treatment of harmony, especially in its use of accidentals. In the first measure, the descending motif previously referred to takes the form not of a perfect but of an augmented fourth, while in the second measure, the cantus melody descends from the b flat (the lower limit of the augmented fourth) to f sharp. The e natural and f sharp of the cantus produce striking cross-relations with the e flat and f natural of the tenor, and the harmonic interval of an augmented second in the second measure. Such use of irrational intervals, cross-relations, constant shifts between the altered and unaltered forms of the same note,

1 Cf. Ludwig in SIMG 4, 39, 40; and Gennrich, Formenlehre, 245, ff.

often producing, to the modern ear, an effect of hesitation between major and minor tonality -- these are entirely typical of Machaut's ballade style. Some of these effects are the product of the linear independence of the two voices, but they are also cultivated for their own sake.[1]

Theorists writing about the use of accidentals, musica falsa, explain that it could arise causu necessitatis to avoid undesirable intervals, or causa pulchritudinis.[2] The theoretical emphasis, however, is always on the use of musica falsa to avoid such irrational intervals as the augmented fourth. Machaut, on the other hand, seems to use musica falsa, causu pulchritudinis, not to avoid but deliberately to cultivate such intervals.

The mensural theorists of the thirteenth century had already discussed musica falsa, but the subject assumes new importance in the fourteenth, both in theory and in practice. Fourteenth century motets, including some of the ones in Fauvel, begin to make

1 Cf. A. Machabey, "Quelques remarques sur la polyphonie vocale du XIV^e siècle," Polyphonie, troisième Cahier (1947-1949), 41, on the importance of the augmented fourth in Machaut.

2 So numerous are the mediaeval theorists who discuss the subject of musica falsa that it is impossible to take them up in much detail. Wolf, Geschichte der Mensural-Notation, I, 111-119, has a good summary, with copious quotations.

more liberal use of accidentals than those of the preceding period. (Cf. the motet "Se mes desirs-Bonne est amours," on f. 29[v] of B.N. frç. 146) But use of accidentals reaches a certain height in Machaut's ballade style.[1] At the same time, the theorists attempt to eliminate the pejorative connotations of the term. "Non falsa, sed vera et necessaria," exclaims Vitry in his ars nova,[2] while his contemporary, Marchettus of Padua, proposes the term "musica colorata" as a substitute.[3] Both of these theorists, however, discuss only the usefulness of musica falsa "per bonam consonantiam inveniendam, et malam evitandam."

An amusing illustration of the ethical overtones of the term is found in the Roman de Fauvel. The second book opens with a description of the palace and court of Fauvel, the allegorical beast who is the precursor of the Antichrist, and whose reign signifies the near approach of the end of the world. Everything about the palace is false. The outside

1 Since the altered notes perform coloristic rather than harmonic functions in fourteenth century music, Apfelstedt has wisely suggested the term "accidentalism" be substituted for "chromaticism." Studies in Mediaeval and Renaissance Music (New York, 1950), 55.
2 CS III, 13.
3 CS III, 130.

is of alchemist's gold, not real gold; the jewels in Fauvel's crown are beautiful, but have lost their natural powers. Around the walls of the palace are painted, together with deceptive sophistries, and fallacies:

> "Chançons, lais et baladen naintez
> Hoquès, motès et chansonnetes...
> Bien escriptez et bien noteez
> Par bemoz (flats) et fausses musiques."[1]

It may well be against such increased use of irrational intervals as we have found in Machaut that the author of the Speculum fulminates, writing of "ineptis discantoribus":

> "Hence it appears that they often introduce blemishes of discord; they confound the concords of the discants, nay, sometimes mutilate, debase and corrupt, and because of ignorance of the said art, if they ever come into concord with the tenor, they don't know how to stay there, but quickly relapse into discord. Woe, alas! In these times some attempt to gloss over their deficiency with an inept saying! This is, they assert, the new way of discanting, the new use of consonances. They offend the intellect of those who recognize such defects, they offend the sense. For instead of inspiring pleasure, as they ought, they provoke sadness. O incongruous saying! O evil gloss, irrational excuse! O great abuse, great cruelty, great bestiality, that an ass is taken for a man,

1 M. Langfors (SATF), ll. 1346-1353.

> a goat for a lion, a sheep for a fish, a serpent for a salmon! Concords are so different from discords that one can in no way be the other. O if the former experienced doctors of music could hear such discanters, what would they say, what would they do."[1]

Even in their two-voice form, the early ballades are sufficiently complex, and already establish the basic style of the genre. Perhaps no analytic approach, which must necessarily enumerate stylistic traits one by one, can hope to convey the impression of heterogeneity, complexity, and subtlety produced by the combination of these traits.

The next development in the ballade, the addition

1 CS II, 394. "Unde provenit ut aspe in ea modula inducant discordie; confundunt tales discantus concordias nonnunquam nonnc mutilant, dividunt et corrumpunt, et hi propter ignorantiam dicte artis si quandoque ad concordiam venerint cum tenore, nesciunt in concordia permanere, cito ad discordiam relabuntur. Heu pro dolor! his temporibus aliqui suum defectum inepto proverbio colorare volunt! iste est, inquiunt, novus discantandi modus, novis scilicet utimur consuetudinis. Offendunt hi intellectum eorum qui tales defectus apposuit; offendunt sensum. Non inducere eum deberent delectationem, adducunt tristitiam. O inconcessum proverbium! O mala coloratio, irrationabilis excusatio! O magnus abusus, magna rusticitas, magna bestialitas, ut asinus sumatur pro homine, capra pro leone, ovis pro pisce, serpente pro salmone! Sic enim concordie a discordiis distincte sunt ut nullatenus una sit alia. O si quelibet periti musice doctores tales audissent discantatores, quid dixissent quid fecissent."

of other voices, serves to intensify further the elements of diversity and contrast. The ballade tenor, limited by its accompanying function of providing the harmonic basis of the work, can never attain full individuality as a melodic voice, although Machaut goes far in that direction. The added instrumental voices, however, which we find in the next phases of the ballade's development, are not limited by such considerations. Not bound by an accompanying function, they can proceed with a melodic and rhythmic logic of their own, as fully individualized as the cantus.

The next development of the ballade genre can be described as an experimental phase, in which Machaut tried out new techniques, and new combinations of voices, which he later abandoned. This phase includes ballades 17-24, and the works of the Remede. All of these works are found in C, the manuscript containing Machaut's early works, in the disordered series of works written down at the end of the first music section of the manuscript, and apparently later in date than the other musical works of the manuscript.

Ballade 17, the first of this group in the principal manuscripts, is indicative of the experimental

nature of the group as a whole. It is a triple ballade, with three texts, constructed on the same rhymes, and with the same refrain maintained through all nine stanzas. The three ballades form a kind of dialogue between a lover and his lady, who is the speaker of the second text. Machaut solved the problem of providing this poetic tour de force with music by setting it as a three-voice canon at the unison -- a logical solution, since it provides each of the identical poetic structures with identical melody. But if logical, it does not seem entirely satisfactory from a musical standpoint. Feininger has called attention to the peculiar character of Machaut's canonic works.[1] Machaut has tried to impose a previous style on the technique of canon, without attempting to compromise between technical and musical factors.[2] The melodic and rhythmic style of the work is that of the ballade -- and one can perhaps imagine no style that seems less adaptable to canonic treatment. The combination, in fact, does not work very well. The manuscript versions of the piece, moreover, do not furnish a completely certain guide to its

1 Laurence K. Feininger, Die Frühgeschichte des Kanons bis Josquin des Prez (Heidelberg, Diss., 1937).

2 Ibid., 15.

transcription. The melody is written out three times, with a rest of two longs the second time. But there is no indication for the entrance of the third canonic voice.[1] Ludwig assumed that it was to be placed between the two other voices. Feininger, however, has suggested that the interval between the second and third voice should be two longs, the same as the interval between the first and second.[2] Besides seeming a more logical procedure, this does result in a better musical version. Taking even the first two canonic voices, however, at the interval established by the manuscripts, we find some extremely unsatisfactory passages. Most notable is the bald series of three octave parallels (in measure 6 of Ludwig's transcription).[3] Machaut himself implicitly rejected the canonic solution to the problem of setting several texts simultaneously. At least in later years, when

1 E, however, writes the melody only once, and gives no hint of the presence of canon.
2 Op. cit., 13, note.
3 Machaut does occasionally use octave parallels elsewhere, although they are not frequent. Cf. measures 26-27 of ballade 18. There all three voices progress in parallel motion with the bass, a fifth and octave above it. The effect, reminiscent of organum, is not unpleasant. In ballade 17, the effect seems particularly unsatisfactory because a leading tone is involved.

he faced the problem of setting double and triple ballades to music, he solved it very differently.

In this experimental phase, the two-voice combination of the earlier period gives way to a variety of forms. The two-voice combination is represented by only two works, nrs. 20 and 24. Besides the three voice canon, there are further three-voice works in which an instrumental triplum has been added above the cantus of the two-voice combination (Nrs. 18, 19 and 23). But Machaut's favorite form in this period is a four-voice combination, with an instrumental triplum above, and a contratenor below the cantus (Nrs. 21, 22, and the two ballades from the Remede). All of these are combinations which Machaut discarded in the later ballades.

The process of composition in the three- and four-voice ballade (with the exception of the unusual canonic work) was one of adding voices successively to the original two-voice core. This is clear in the wroks themselves, as well as in certain remarks of theorists. The Ars discantus, one of the few fourteenth century treatises which refers to the secular chanson forms, contains a short section "De compositione

carminum" in which the addition of a contratenor to an already existing combination of "carmen" and tenor is discussed. The rules all have the form: if there is such and such an interval above the tenor, then such and such intervals may be added below:

> "Quando tertia habetur super principalem tenorem, tunc tertia sub, vel sexta sub (que sexta sub non tam dulce sonat), vel octava sub, vel decima sub possunt poni in contratenore, sed quinta sub non potest ibidem poni,"[1] for instance.

He has in mind, of course, a later form of the ballade--the three-voice cantus, tenor, and contratenor combination of the classic fourteenth century ballade -- but what his remarks indicate about the process of composition applies equally to all the three- and four-voice works.

An important difference between the ballade and the motet is that in the ballade the two-voice core always remains a self-sufficient whole. Thus the three- and four-voice ballades can be performed in two voices or in any combination which includes the original core. This is not possible in the motet where no voice can be dispensed with.

1 CS III, 93.

The different possibilities for performance are reflected in the different manuscript versions we sometimes have of one and the same composition, although there is always sufficient agreement among the chief Machaut manuscripts to show what the original form of the composition was. Ballade 18, one of the most widely diffused of Machaut's works, appears in eleven different manuscripts in four different versions. In the five Machaut manuscripts it appears as a three-voice composition with triplum; in two manuscripts, as a four-voice composition with the addition of a contratenor; in three manuscripts, as a three-voice composition with contratenor (i.e., the triplum has been discarded and the contratenor of the four-voice version retained); and in one manuscript as a two-voice composition. It is probably legitimate to perform any ballade as a two-voice work when musical resources are not available for a fuller performance.

Of the earlier ballades, only one, nr. 4, had apparently been considered worthy of inclusion in a manuscript other than the chief Machaut manuscripts. This next group, however, includes some of Machaut's better known works. Besides nr. 18, one of the most

famous of all the ballades, nrs. 22 and 23, and the two balledes from the Remede are also represented in other manuscripts -- a total of half of the ten ballades which date from this period.

Machaut's preference for four-voice forms in this phase of ballade composition is shown not so much in their numerical preponderance as by their inclusion in the Remede de Fortune, the poem in which Machaut sought to give a representative sample of each of the musical genres. The ballade is, significantly, the only genre represented by two examples. The first of these two Remede compositions is called in the text a "baladelle" rather than a "balade", and the two compositions differ slightly in structure.[1] The "baladelle" is one of the rare ballades in which both sections are symmetrical in rhyme scheme. Musically

1 The fourth measure of the "baladelle" (in the cantus) contains an unusual bit of syncopation in perfect prolation; and the manuscript Vg (now missing), on which Ludwig based his edition, indicates it by a punctus syncopationis between the minim and the three semi-breves. In view of the importance which Apel attaches to this device in the formation of the post-Machaut style, this is an extremely interesting early example. Variants, MO II, Appendix (contributed by Ludwig), p. 14; Apel, French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century, 7.

therefore, both are provided with "ouvert" and "clos".[1] Hoepffner suggests that the diminutive is used of this ballade because it uses short lines of seven and three syllables rather than the usual ten or eight syllalble lines.[2]

Some of the accompanying voices in the ballades of this period seem to have a more decidedly instrumental character, particularly in their use of repeated notes, rests, and hoquet-like rhythms. We have in mind such passages as the following from the triplum of ballade 18, measures 10-14:

or the series of repeated notes, separated by rests, with which the tenor begins in nr. 23. But this is an extremely delicate question. Hoquet rhythms, after all, originate in a vocal form, and the typical Machaut cantus contains features which the modern viewpoint is apt to consider more typical of an instrumental than of a vocal style. Machaut, in fact, makes

1 This is also true of nrs. 6, 19, 38 and 40 of the other ballades set to music.
2 MO II, xlvi.

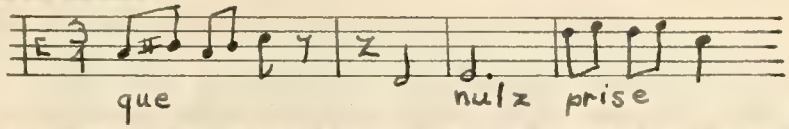
demands of his singers which most later composers have made only of instrumentalists. The broken lines interrupted by rests, and the melodic leaps of the cantus are not characteristics which we usually associate with a vocal style.[1] Within a single phrase, the cantus melody uses a great deal of stepwise motion, with fairly restricted leaps, rarely exceeding a fifth. But between the end of one phrase and the beginning of the next, all sorts of strange leaps occur. Between the first and second section of nr. 20, the cantus has a leap of an augmented fourth upwards. Leaps of a seventh in the cantus (usually upwards) are so common that at least one can be found in almost every ballade. Sevenths and elevenths are indeed more common than octaves or sixths.[2] In ballade 22[3] after the descending first phrase, there is an ascending leap of a seventh, up to the beginning of

1 Jacobus of Liège stresses the difficulty of performance of the music of his time. Strunk, op. cit., 163.

2 Cf. Marius Schneider, Die Ars Nova des XIV. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich und Italien, 38.

3 Machabey has hailed the final cadence of this work as the first full cadence in the history of music, because a single manuscript, F-C, makes the contratenor end a third, instead of a fifth above the tenor, as in other manuscripts. Obviously this reading which occurs in only a single manuscript, is simply an error. Ludwig includes it in his variants, of course. Essai sur les Formules Usuelles de la Musique Occidentale (Paris, 1928), 214.

the second phrase, while the third phrase contains the following passage, with its two successive leaps of a seventh:



In the passages preceding the cadence in the same composition there is a further leap of an eleventh upward.

Machaut's melodies, however, are by no means unvocal. They are, to use Jacobus of Liège's terms, "difficult and subtle," but they are also extremely effective as vocal lines. In the passage just quoted, the contrast between the high and low registers of the voice is a very pleasing effect in performance. Machaut exploits the resources of the human voice as a musical instrument. The constant contrast between melismatic and syllabic declamation, as we noted before, does not serve expressive purposes. It might rather be compared to the contrast between legato and staccato on an instrument.

The expansion of the two-voice ballade to a three- or four-voice form increased the opportunities for contrast between voices; it also increased the dissonance of the style. As Hindemith points out

in his analysis of the beginning of ballade 22 (and his remarks apply to other works equally well), the basic tonal structure is very simple.

> "But the conflicts of detail between harmony and melody, above this firm foundation, are worthy of the highest admiration. There are the boldest accumulations of non-chord tones, as well as parallel fifths, sevenths, and seconds..."[1]

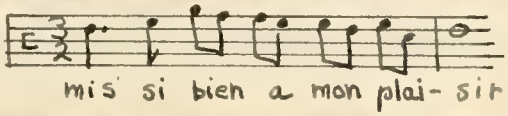
Yet the real heart of the ballade style lies in this area, in the "decorations."

Machaut was not apparently impressed by the sweetness of thirds and sixths, of which the Ars discantus speaks,[2] although he often applied the adjective "douce" to his own music.[3] His style in the ballades shows a deliberate cultivation of dissonance which goes far beyond that of the motets.[4]

Ballade 22 begins boldly with an appogiatura d in

1 The Craft of Musical Composition, 206.
2 CS III, 93. "Et dulce quod potest, boni est quando quinta ponitur in uno contrapuncto et in alio decima, quia quamvis tenor taceret, ille duo contrapuncti insimul concordarentur sine tenore, quia esset sexta..."
3 Cf. Remede, lines 2893-2901. The adjective is, of course, extremely conventional and rather vague in meaning.
4 Parallel seconds, for instance, are much more frequent in the ballades and rondeaux than in the motets.

the contratenor against the c of the cantus. Much of the dissonance in Machaut's ballades is introduced through appogiaturas, suspensions, temporary clashes between motifs in the different voices; but there are also series of dissonant parallels more difficult to explain by orthodox methods. The following phrase occurs at the beginning of the second section in ballade 23:



Out of context, it sounds like a melody which one of Machaut's Italian contemporaries might have written. But no Italian would have written against it the melody of Machaut's triplum, which forms a series of six parallel seconds with the last six eighth notes of the series. It might be argued that both lines are consonant with the tenor, and that, if both were calculated independently from the tenor, the dissonance might arise more or less "by chance." But many theorists are quite explicit in insisting that when a third voice is added, both of the other voices must be taken into consideration, and there is no reason to assume that Machaut was not fully conscious of the effect produced by such a passage. A more reasonable explanation for such passages, which are more common than parallel

thirds in Machaut's writing, is that two voices moving in parallel thirds or sixths tend to blend, to be heard as a single unit. But when parallel seconds are involved, the ear is forced to distinguish the two separate voices, to be aware of them as separate entities; and Machaut's ballade style is one which demands that while the voices work together in combination they must, as much as possible, remain separate and distinct entities.[1]

There is, of course, in mediaeval polyphony no development or "progress" towards greater consonance or towards greater use of the third. Yvonne Rokseth notes that in the thirteenth century the use of the third is more frequent in works from the early part of the century than from the late.[2] In the fourteenth century the movement from the marked consonance of Jehannot de l'Escurel's single polyphonic rondeau, to the motets of Vitry and Machaut, to Machaut's ballade style, is one of increasing use of dissonance (although in the last period of ballade composition there is a certain softening of the

1 There is a reciprocal relationship between linear counterpoint and use of dissonance. In one sense, linear counterpoint produces dissonance; in another sense, dissonance, which increases the listener's awareness of separate voices, produces linear counterpoint.

2 Op. cit., IV, 216.

dissonance). There is nothing "primitive" about Machaut's use of dissonance. It is fully deliberate and self conscious.

Although Machaut can be said to have already reached artistic maturity in his "experimental" phase of ballade composition, his conception of the ballade underwent one more significant change. None of the ballade forms which Machaut cultivated in his experimental phase is continued into the next. The last sixteen works (25-40) establish the "classic" form for the fourteenth century ballade, a combination of cantus, tenor and contratenor, a combination which appears for the first time in the period represented by the manuscripts Vg and M. It was this form of the ballade which the composers of the late fourteenth century took over from Machaut.

Although the composers of mediaeval polyphony were perfectly capable of handling four voices, three-voice composition was the norm for the principal polyphonic genres. Pérotin's organa tripla, the double motet, the three-voice ballade, became, in their respective periods, the normal, the classic forms.

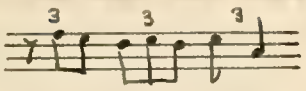
The elimination of the triplum above the cantus

throws the cantus into greater prominence, and this may be one of the reasons that Machaut discarded the upper instrumental voice in his mature compositions. But Machaut's change from the three- and four-voice forms of the experimental phase to the cantus-tenor-contratenor combination of his maturity is also part of a certain trend towards simplification of the ballade style.

In most, though not all, of the mature ballades there is a subtle change of tone, a relaxation of intensity, a softening of the counterpoint's dissonance, a slightly increased use of unifying devices such as sequence and motivic unification. The change is not a great one, however, and it is only by comparison with the previous group of ballades that these works can be spoken of as "simple" or "relaxed."

This trend is especially noticeable in the group of works in perfect prolation. In the previous period Machaut had virtually abandoned perfect prolation. It appears in only one work from that period, the "baladelle" of the Remede. But of the last sixteen ballades, seven are in perfect prolation (nrs. 26, 27, 28, 32, 33,36 and 37). This group of ballades, moreover, have musical

material in common. In all but one of them (nr. 37) the motif



is featured prominently. In nrs. 32, 33 and 36, the rhythmic motif appears frequently in the instrumental voices. All of these works are noticeably less dissonant than the works of the experimental phase. The cantus melody is smoother; the leaps of a seventh or eleventh between phrases, so common in the earlier period, have totally disappeared.[1]

But the more intense counterpoint of the previous period is still very much present in other works, such as ballade 25. Perhaps a perfect balance is struck in such compositions as ballades 30 and 31. Ballade 31, "De toutes flours" is, with "De petit po," ballade

1 Ballade 33, "Les qu'on porroit," is one of the four ballades from this period which Machaut inserted in the Voir Dit, where he describes it as similar to a Lay d'Allemaigne (pp. 55, 69). This comparison has never been fully clarified. Handschin has suggested that Lay here means "melody." But what sort of melody Machaut had in mind is not clear. We have no German music from this period with which it could be compared. Handschin ("Über Estampie und Sequenz," ZfMW XII (1929), p. 10, note) points to the use of major tonality of the work and the use of fourths and fifths in the tenor as new elements. But these are equally common in many other Machaut compositions. We shall refer to Machaut's remarks about the performance of this work in a later chapter.

16, one of the most famous of all Machaut's works.[1] While it is sometimes difficult to see why one particular work rather than another was selected for inclusion in anthologies of the period, in this case we can only admire the taste of the mediaeval compilers. "De toutes flours" is, indeed, one of the most beautiful of all Machaut's works.[2] Beneath the restlessness of the style, there is a new feeling of repose, of gentleness -- a quality which, we confess, virtually defies analysis.

Four works from Machaut's last group of ballades are in exceptional forms. Nr. 27, "Une vipere en cuer me dame meint," is the only ballade which continues the two-voice form of the early ballade. Nr. 34 is a monodic work, which makes a strange appearance among Machaut's late ballades. But such an unexpected emergence of archaism is, in fact, typical of Machaut's artistic personality. There is no possibility that this work represents simply one voice of a more complete ballade whose instrumental voices are lost, for it was

1 It appears in seven manuscripts, not including the Machaut manuscripts.

2 It was among the works performed in a series of historical concerts given in Hamburg in 1924. (H. Besseler, "Musik des Mittelalters in der Hamburger Musikhalle 1-6. April -1924," ZfMW 7 (1924), 42 ff.)

obviously conceived as a monodic work, and its melodic style is quite distinct from that of Machaut's other ballades. It is comparable, rather, to some of the monodic virelais. The melody is extremely simple, the rhythm quiet (it avoids the sharp reversed triplet rhythm which Machaut cultivates in his other ballades in perfect prolation), the use of melisma restrained. The extensive melismatic phrases typical of the polyphonic ballade are missing, and, although small melismas are used, the basic movement of the work is based on syllabic declamation of the semi-breve.

Two other works of this period owe their exceptional form to the attempt to set several texts simultaneously. Nr. 29, like Machaut's canonic ballade, nr. 17, is a triple ballade, in which three texts of identical versification are sung simultaneously. Machaut, however, instead of canon, this time gives each verse its own melody. It is interesting to notice how Machaut staggers the melismas in the different voices, a device which enables the texts to come through more clearly than they otherwise would. The double ballade, nr. 34, "Quant Theseus - Ne quier veoir," Machaut set as a work with two sung voices and

instrumental tenor and contratenor.[1]

In the Voir Dit, Machaut tells the story behind the origin of this work. It was the product of a poetic contest between Machaut and a certain Thomas Paien (whom Ludwig identified as a famous jurist who taught at the Sorbonne in the last quarter of the fourteenth century).[2] Th. Paien wrote the first text, "Quant Theseus, Hercules et Jason," to which Machaut replied with "Ne quier veoir la biaute d'Absalon," on the same rhymes and with the same refrain.[3] These texts he sent to Peronne, asking her to judge them, but complaining that, after all, Paien, who wrote first, had the advantage over him. At the same time, he announced his intention of setting them to music. Machaut later sent the complete musical composition, begging Peronne to learn the two ballades, "for I have composed them for four voices, and have listened to them several times, and they please me very well."[4]

1 An analysis of certain features of this work can be found in Perle, op. cit., 170-182. Besseler in MGG sees in this work an influence from the motet. But its musical style is quite distinct from that of the motet, and the sole common factor of polytextuality does not seem enough to warrant such a comparison.

2 MW II, 69*, note.

3 The relevant passages are reprinted from the Voir Dit in MW II, 57*, 58*.

4 "Car je y ay fait les chans a quattre, et les ay plusours fois ois, et me plaisent moult bien..."

Peronne, although she was a little low in register, was delighted with the composition, and naturally felt that Lachaut had won the contest. She writes, as she often does in the Voir dit: "What you do pleases me much more than what others do. And I am certain that other people also feel the same way."[1] Certainly this four-voice ballade, together with "Honte, paour" (nr. 25), "Tas de Tor" (nr. 30), "De toutes flours" (nr. 31), "Floures, dames, floures" (nr. 32), is among the outstanding compositions of Lachaut's maturity.[2]

Some historians, contrasting the French with the Italian style of the period, seem to accuse the French, with their greater emphasis on rhythmic complexity, of a certain neglect of melody, and speak as if Italian music were somehow more "melodic".[3] The two melodic styles are certainly very different from

1 "Car ce que vous faictes me plaist trop mieux a mon cuer que ce que li autre font. Et aussi suis je certaine que aussi fait il aux autres..."

2 This list is not meant to be exhaustive, but this group of compositions with a few others, such as "De petit po" and "Il m'est avis" from the earlier period, would at least make an excellent introduction to Machaut's ballade style for those not already familiar with it.

3 Cf. Schneider, Die Ars nova des XIV. Jahrhunderts, 30.

each other, but whether the Italian is more "melodic" seems open to doubt. It is a question of difference rather than of degree. (Perhaps what such writers have in mind is that Italian fourteenth century works are closer to eighteenth and nineteenth century ideas of melody that the French style of the same period.) Machaut is, indeed, a master of melody as well as of rhythm. The phrase which opens "Pas de tor" (nr. 30), may well serve as a toucstone for Machaut's melodic powers. It is a phrase which no Italian of the period would have written, but it is a stunning melody.

One further element of contrast frequently present in Machaut's ballade style has not been fully discussed so far: the contrast between rapidly moving passages with a great deal of rhythmic independence of the voices, and chords sustained by all voices. Such a contrast is exploited, to a rather unusual degree, in ballade 35, particularly in the first section. Here the rhythmic points of repose correspond to harmonic points of repose, but this is not always necessarily true. Sometimes, instead, sustained dissonance serves to increase tension, as in the c-a-g- combination sustained in measure 43 of "De

toutes flours" (nr. 31). Or again, a sustained chord may appear in the middle of a phrase, contrasting with the rhythmic liveliness and use of dissonance in preceding or following measures. Such a point of repose occurs in the middle of the musical phrase accompanying the line "Et en tous fais estre amoureus couarde," in ballade 25; it is followed by a rapid series of parallel seconds between cantus and contratenor, at the end of which these two voices move in contrary motion to the strong cadence preceding the refrain. The whole phrase is an extraordinarily effective combination of several typical Machaut devices.

It is important to distinguish this use of sustained chords or stopping points in the ballade from what may at first seem similar practices in the motet. The stopping points in the motet are part of a larger design; they are points where the rapid motion of the upper parts gives way to the slower motion of the tenor, revealing the rhythmic skeleton of the work, usually obscured by the upper parts. In the ballade style, they are used more for their own sake, or rather, for pure contrast.

Of the texts which Machaut set to music, it

is worth noticing that nineteen (almost half) are also found among the poems of the Louange, the collection of lyrics not intended for musical composition.[1] The lyrics for at least two of Machaut's late ballades (nrs. 36 and 38) were written considerably earlier than the music. Machaut's ballade texts are thus not conceived specifically with a musical setting in mind. Moreover, as the remarks in the Voir Dit concerning Machaut's four-voice double ballade show, the music was composed somewhat later than the texts.

This may seem to labor an obvious point, but it is one worth establishing, since we simply cannot assume that for the Middle Ages writing the text first and the music later was the "natural" or "obvious" way of going about things.[2] Machaut's selection of texts may have been made on the basis of literary quality. From the modern point of view at least, such works as "Une vipere", or "Je puis trop bien," are among Machaut's finest lyrics. Similar observations

1 Cf. the list in MW II, 50*.
2 In tropes, contrafacta (which are very numerous in the Middle Ages) and probably in motets, the reverse procedure is normal.

can be made for the rondeaux set to music, which include five texts drawn from the Louange.

Machaut's ballade style is, to summarize, first and foremost one of contrast: contrast between individual voices, between melismatic and syllabic declamation, between phrases of different lengths, between rapid motion and points of rest. It is somewhat misleading to call it, as Apel does, a unified style,[1] although it is understandable within the limited comparison between Machaut's style and the "manneristic" style of some of the later fourteenth century composers. The later composers went beyond Machaut in using different metrical combinations simultaneously in different voices (for instance, 2/4 against 6/8 against 3/4, in modern equivalents), and in using more extended and more complex forms of syncopation. But some forms of contrast present in Machaut are eliminated in the manneristic style. In

1 French Secular Music, 10, 11. Apel, in support of his description of Machaut's style as one of "unified texture", refers in a footnote to Perle's discussion of the unity created through repetition of melodic and rhythmic motifs. But Perle's emphasis was rather on the diversified texture of the style, as the following passage, an apt description of Machaut's style, shows. "The total effect is like that of a fabric consisting of many variously colored threads running in many different directions in which a few well-ordered and refined patterns give the whole unity and arrangement precisely because they are the only ordered details in a heterogeneous aggregation."

the works of the later composers, the ballade became a larger, more ample form. As long as the poetic form remained the same, this could be accomplished only through increasing use of melisma, to the point where the ballade is melismatic almost throughout. Thus the contrast between melisma and syllabic declamation tends to disappear. The alternation between short phrases, interspersed with rests, and longer ones is also used less. The increasing diversification of voices in the late fourteenth century is a further continuation of principles inherent in Machaut's ballade style, rather than a departure from it. The next generation inherited this tendency from Machaut, just as they inherited from him the three-voice cantus-tenor-contratenor combination, and the leading position of the ballade in the repertory.

V

In C, the manuscript which contains the earliest stage of Machaut's repertory, the rondeaux do not appear in the music sections as a self-contained group, but only in the disordered series of works at the end of the first music section. This seems to

indicate that Machaut turned to the rondeau only after he had made a beginning in the ballade. Although the differences of poetic form between the ballade and rondeau lead to certain differences of the outer musical form, the musical style is the same for both genres. Machaut, in short, simply transferred the polyphonic style which he had formulated in his earliest ballades into the rondeau.

The rondeau, like the ballade, is bi-sectional, but lacks the "ouvert" and "clos". The two sections of the rondeau are, of course, repeated alternately in accordance with the poetic scheme: A B a A a b A B. In the ballade, both sections usually ended on the same final (in all but six cases); in the rondeau, however, the final of the first section is normally at the interval of a second above that of the second section. These are the principal external differences between the two genres.

Since the two sections of the rondeau normally have different finals, musical rhyme is less frequent than in the ballade. It does appear, however, in rondeaux 10, 13, 17, 18, and 21. There is also an effect of musical rhyme, achieved through slightly

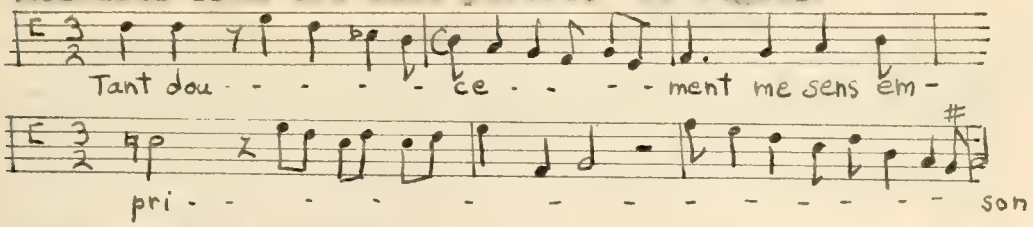
irregular repetitions, in rondeaux 5 and 15.[1] In rondeau 6, the final measures repeat a phrase which appears at the beginning of the piece (in measures 2-3), producing a rounded form.

In the ten rondeaux which appear in C, we find the same combinations of voices as in the ballades of the early and experimental stages: two voices in rondeaux 2-7, three voices with triplum in nr. 1 and in the "rondelet" from the Remede, and four voices in rondeaux 9 and 10.[2] Moreover, the same stylistic features which we described in the ballade are present in the rondeaux of the early period. The rondeaux, however, show an even more definite preference for imperfect prolation than the ballades, and, correlatively, a slightly greater use of syncopation. Some of the rondeau melodies contain extensive syncopated passages which go beyond anything we have seen in the ballade. The cantus melody of the four-voice rondeau 9 is more radical, both in its use of syncopation and

1 Ludwig does not star the repetitions in these two works as he usually does in his edition.

2 Rondeau 8, although the principal manuscripts group it with the early works, is actually a later work, since it is not found in C. It is in the three-voice cantus-tenor-contratenor combination of Machaut's mature ballades. Ludwig suggests that rondeau 6, whose text contains an anagram yielding the name Jehan (or Jehanne) may have been written for the marriage of John, dike of Berry, in 1360. But this is impossible, since it is already found in C.

and in its melodic leaps, than comparable ballade melodies from the same period. It begins:



There are a few works, however, in which Machaut seemingly tries to formulate for the rondeau a style of its own, a simplified version of his ballade style. The restrained use of melisma and rhythmic unity of the voices of "Doulz viaire gracieus" (rondeau 1), set it apart from Machaut's other ballades and rondeaux. The elimination of long melismatic passages produces a much smaller form. The second section of this little piece begins with a snatch of imitation carried through all three voices, in a way which is practically unique in Machaut's work.[1] Rondeau 18, from a later period, is an attempt along similar lines. It is further remarkable for its extraordinarily

1 Ludwig notes in his variants that the placing of the text at the beginning of the imitative passage is unclear, and that this passage may have been intended for instrumental performance. In view of the nature of the cantus melody, this seems entirely probable.

low range. Musical rhyme is also used here, rather surprisingly, since the work is very short (seven measures) and the repetitions span half of each section. But these are isolated examples. In general, Machaut was content with simply transferring his ballade style to the rondeau.

The development from the early to the later rondeaux parallels the development of the ballade. The four-voice and the three-voice form with triplum disappear, and are replaced by the cantus-tenor-contratenor form, while the two-voice form survives in a few works (in rondeaux 12 and 20).

The music sections of the later manuscripts include one rondeau (nr. 16) without music. Machaut apparently intended to set it to music, as its text seems to demand: "Dame, qui vet vostre droit nom savoir/ Voie ce dit qui en chantant l'enseigne." But the music was never written, nor has anyone succeeded in deciphering the lady's name. The following rondeau (nr. 17) also contains an anagram, this time, however, yielding the name "Peronne," (the heroine of the Voir Dit) with a delightful musical setting.

Among the later works, rondeaux 14 and 19 are

especially noteworthy. "Ma fin est mon commencement," (nr. 14) Machaut's retrograde rondeau, achieves a happy balance between musical and technical factors (as his earlier canonic ballade did not). The second section is a mirror image of the first, the musical form of the work corresponding exactly to the description of its text. The rhythm is lively with plentiful use of syncopation, but the harmonic plan of the work is extremely simple, with the contratenor alternating almost exclusively between c and g, in fanfare-like motifs.

Rondeau 19, "Quant ma dame," is historically important for its rhythmic combination of imperfect tempus with perfect prolation in the cantus and perfect tempus with imperfect prolation in the instrumental voices (6/8 against 3/4, in modern equivalents). In his motets, Machaut had already taken advantage of the principle defined by de Muris "that music may combine perfect notes in imperfect time with imperfect notes in perfect, for three binary values and two ternary ones are made equal in multiples of six."[1] But he had used this equivalence of rhythm only as

1 Strunk, op. cit., 178, Ars novae musicae.

it applied to the longer values of the tenor and contratenor, where it involves such large units as to be scarcely perceptible in performance.[1] Machaut's rondeau is probably the earliest example in which this combination of rhythms is applied to the smaller note values, a combination which became a favorite in the fifteenth century chanson.

vi

The musical style of the ballades and rondeaux is such as to eliminate the possibility that they were used to accompany the dance. The virelais, however, musically are still related in spirit to the thirteenth century dance forms. (We have already noted that in their versification they are closer to the thirteenth century dance songs than either the ballade or rondeau.) Moreover, the virelai which Machaut inserts in the Remede is introduced as a dance song. The passage which introduces the virelai is extremely interesting for the information it gives about the performance of the carole in fourteenth

1 In the four-voice motets nrs. 5, 21 and 23.

century polite society. Near the end of the poem, the narrator, fortified by the counsels of Hope, is returning towards his lady. As he approaches, he sees a large company of ladies, knights and maidens, merrily dancing on the green. There were no instruments there, Machaut states explicitly, nor minstrels, but only "chansonettes."[1] Approaching closer, he catches sight of his lady, and is almost overcome with trembling. But remembering the counsels of Hope, he recovers before the song, which a maiden was then singing, was finished. As he draws nearer the dancers, his lady sees him, and when she has made a half-circle, which brings her closer to him, insists that he too join the dancers.[2] The lover kneels before her and changes color several times (presumably the dancers stop to wait for him to join them). The lady courteously returns his greeting, and extends her little finger, which the lover is not slow to take as he begins to dance. But they have not been dancing long, when the lady tells him that he should

1 ll. 3359-3369.
2 ll. 3384-3417.

sing, since it has come his turn.[1] It is at this point that the virelai is sung. When it is over, another lady, who had been dancing to it, begins the refrain: "Dame, quant venra li tems et l'eure que je voie ce que j'aim si?"[2]

The dancers thus accompany themselves with songs, each one singing in turn. There is no longer, however, alternate performance of the refrain by all the dancers, and the body of the stanza by a soloist.

The passage which precedes the virelai makes it clear that Machaut preferred the term "chanson baladée" for that form:

> "Encommensai ce virelay
> qu'on claimme chanson baladée.
> Ainsi doit elle estre nommée,"

a statement which he repeated in the Voir Dit and in the Prologue.[3] His preference is probably a recognition of the fact that the virelai is generically related to the ballade and not to the lai. The musical style of the virelai is not, however, derived from the ballade, as is the style of the rondeau. The virelai

1 ll. 3417-3441.
2 ll. 3448-3504.
3 Cf. Hoepffner in MO II, xlix. Deschamps follows Machaut in this preference.

of the Remede, like most of Machaut's virelais, is monodic.

The music sections of the manuscripts contain, all together, thirty-eight virelais, but six of them are without music. All of Machaut's virelais, however, were at least intended for musical setting. These include several of the virelais included in the Voir Dit, which are frequently mentioned in the correspondence. But although Peronne was constantly begging Machaut to set them to music, he never found time to fulfill her wish.

The virelai is not, for Machaut, an independent literary genre like the ballade and rondeau. In this respect too it is closer to the thirteenth century tradition in which music was still a necessary complement to poetry.

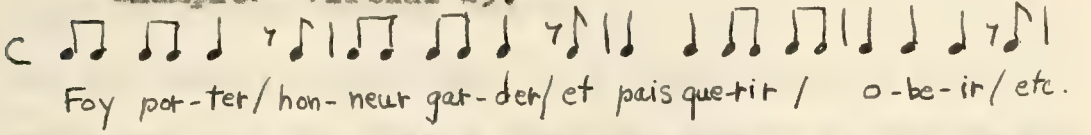
Most of the virelais date from Machaut's early period; only seven of the thirty-three virelais set to music date from the later period (as compared with over half the rondeaux and about two-fifths of the ballades). Nor are there stylistic differences corresponding to the two chronological stages in C, except that a single two-voice virelai (nr. 29) is

included among the works of the second stage. The early virelais can thus be discussed as a single group.[1] With the one exception just mentioned, the twenty-six virelais appearing with music in C are all monodic. Their melodic style, compared to that of the ballades or rondeaux, is extremely simple. To turn from the ballades to the virelais is to be aware, at least, of the many facets of Machaut's artistic personality. The chief difference is that in most of the virelais the declamation is syllabic, with only occasional small melismas of two or at most three notes. In a few works (notably nrs. 17-19, and nr. 25), Machaut experiments with slightly longer melismas, but they are always confined to limited areas of the text. The melody is never thoroughly interpenetrated with melisma, as it is in the ballade. For the meter of the monodic virelai, Machaut prefers imperfect tempus with perfect prolation -- again, in contrast to the ballade. Machaut does use the livelier of the two main rhythmic effects possible within this meter,

1 They include two anomalous works (nrs. 13 and 14) which are not really virelais in form, although musically comparable to the virelais.

with the shorter value placed first, and in three works using imperfect prolation, short passages of syncopation are present. In syllabic style, the phrase structure follows the verse structure, producing a much greater regularity of phrasing than is ever found in the ballade.

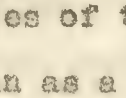
Example: Virelai 25.



In short, one can well imagine that these simple, but lively and charming melodies could accompany the dance.

In his later period, Machaut discarded the monodic virelai, and gave the genre a polyphonic setting. Of the seven virelais which belong to the period after that represented by the manuscript C, six are for two voices, and one for three voices (cantus, tenor, and contratenor). Their polyphonic style, however, is very different from that of the ballade. The cantus melody remains predominantly syllabic, and works much more closely with the accompanying instrumental voice (or voices) than in the ballade. Even the three-voice virelai is thus much quieter and simpler in its effect than many of the

two-voice ballades and rondeaux.

Most of the polyphonic virelais, in contrast to the monodic, use imperfect prolation. Machaut, in his use of the meter perfect tempus with imperfect prolation, achieves particularly subtle rhythmic effects in the virelais. By his placing of syllables, Machaut groups appearances of the rhythm (3/4)  as two units, rather than as a syncopation in a three unit measure, creating a delicate effect of alternation between 3/4 and 6/8 rhythms.

While many of the motets, ballades and rondeaux found fame in later French, Italian, or German manuscripts, the virelais made little impression on Machaut's contemporaries or followers. No virelai is found outside of the Machaut manuscripts proper. The style of Machaut's ballades had made them obsolete, even within his own repertory. The next generation of composers took the step which Machaut had not. They transferred the ballade style to the virelai, as Machaut has already transferred it to the rondeau.

vii

There is thus ample historical justification

for using the term "ballade style" of Machaut's new polyphonic style. The new style originates within the ballade, and is only later applied to the other "formes fixes." The term has, however, come under attack from Handschin (a thorough revisionist where matters of terminology are concerned),[1] and his proposed substitute, "cantilena style," seems to have won a degree of acceptance among music historians.[2] "Ballade style," however, seems to us a less ambiguous and less arbitrary term than the proposed substitute.[3]

The ballade's position of eminence among the

1 Jacques Handschin, "Les Etudes sur le XV^e Siècle Musical de Ch. Van den Borren," Revue Belge de Musicologie, I (1946-1947), 94, ff.

2 Cf. Besseler's articles in MGG.

3 As Handschin admits, the term cantilena also refers to monodic music (loc. cit., 95). Yet this is one of his grounds for rejecting the term "conductus style." The Ars discantus, one of the few treatises to discuss the small secular forms, calls them simply carmina (CS III, 93). While one can agree with Handschin that there is confusion in much of our present usage of terminology, the situation can be more easily improved through clarification of terms we already have. Handschin's wholesale introduction of new terms may only multiply the confusion, especially since some of the new terms seem to involve as many difficulties as the ones which they are designed to replace.

compositions of Machaut's maturity is further strengthened by the composers who follow him. Not only do the "formes fixes" almost entirely displace the motet, but within the "formes fixes" the ballade assumes an even stronger position. Machaut's mature works (excluding the compositions found in C) include 23 ballades, 11 rondeaux, 7 virelais, and 4 motets. These figures may be compared with those which Apel has tabulated for the principal sources of French music in the following period.[1] The numerical preponderance of the ballades is most strikingly illustrated in the Chantilly codex, which contains 70 ballades, 18 rondeaux, 10 virelais,[2] and, in an appendix to the main body of the manuscript, 13 motets.[3] These same sources contain works of Machaut. In a few cases, the later composers show a more specific indebtedness through direct imitation or quotation of his music.[4]

1 French Secular Music, 5.
2 Apel's figures differ slightly from those given elsewhere by Ludwig and Besseler. I have accepted them as correct without attempting to check the reasons for the slight discrepancies, which do not affect the main point of the present discussion.
3 Besseler in AfMW 7, 207.
4 Cf. Ludwig's notes to ballades 15 and 23. Ellinwood (The Works of Francesco Landini, Cambridge, 1939, p. xx.) says that the three opening measures of "Phiton, Phiton beste tres venemeuse," a ballade found in both the Chantilly and Reina codices, echoes Machaut's "Phyton, le nervilleus serpent." I have not had an opportunity to check the resemblance.

Machaut, who began by following the example of Vitry, the first founder of fourteenth century music, ended by giving the movement an entirely new direction. The poetic genres, which were the vehicle of this change, continue the courtly traditions of a previous age. But the musical style which Machaut created is in no sense a continuation. His polyphonic ballades and rondeaux are a far cry from the musical ideals of the trouvères.

Chapter VI

The Lais

In his ballades and rondeaux, Machaut showed himself the true child (or, more truly, the father) of his age. But there is another side to Machaut's art which expresses not a progressive, but a retrospective, nostalgic attitude towards the music of a past age. This side is reflected, in different ways, in the virelais, the mass and hoquet, and, at its strongest, in the monodic lais. The study of the lais provides, perhaps, somewhat of an anticlimax to that of the ballades and rondeaux. Yet it is Machaut's achievement in the ballades and rondeaux which constitutes the most accurate measure of the archaism of the lais.

When in 1911 Ludwig, whose knowledge of mediaeval music was immense and profound, edited the musical compositions from the Remede, he described the simple melodies of the monodic works, the lai, the complainte, and the virelai, as easily comprehensible. "Only the lack of a fixed tonality seems a little strange at first." "But to understand the polyphonic works," he

continued, "it is much more necessary to put out of mind the acquisitions of the later development of music... Thus the historian should not judge the harmonic shortcomings of these works by comparison with the harmony of more advanced eras, but should try to see in what respects they mark an advance and open new paths."[1] Thus, although Ludwig was fully aware of the historical importance of Machaut's polyphonic compositions, he thought they could be understood only through an act of historical abstraction, while the monodic works had a more immediate appeal. Today our attitude is apt to be quite different. It is the ballades and rondeaux which appeal to us as living music, while in comparison the lais, though pleasant enough, seem somewhat flat -- of mere "historical" interest.[2] Actually, the historical importance

1 In MQ II, 413.

2 One of the largest factors in this change of attitude has been the music of the twentieth century, which has created a musical climate much more favorable than that of the nineteenth for an understanding of mediaeval polyphony. Most music historians recognize this, although a few still take a position similar to Ludwig's in 1911. Ficker, in his article, "Polyphonic Music of the Gothic Period," MQ 15 (1929), 486-7, writes:

> "Now, it is no mere coincidence that an interest in and understanding for this recondite music should awaken precisely at a time when our latter-day musical production is striving (cont.)

of the lais, like that of the virelais, is slight. They exercised no influence on fourteenth century music. But they reveal a great deal about Machaut's artistic personality. Perhaps all great innovators have had an unusually profound understanding of tradition. Machaut's lais reflect an extraordinary sense of the past. In a style very different from that of the polyphonic works, they continue the tradition of the unity of word and tone which was the basis of trouvère art, and from which Machaut, in his ballades and rondeaux, had deliberately freed himself.

The form of the lai, like those of the ballade,

(cont.) after new and revolutionary forms of expression... Not until today, since we have been able to give a hearing to this music with a totally different adjustment of our auditory sense, do those dead symbols begin gradually to throw off their lethargy and awaken to sonorous life -- a life replete with unimagined individuality and grandeur."

On the other hand, Machabey, writing in the post-war periodical Polyphonie (Troisième Cahier, 1948-1949), p. 40, says, for instance of the fourteenth century "double leading tone" cadence: "Très fréquente dès le XIIIe siècle, elle devient la règle au XIVe; en 1948, elle nous est incompréhensible..." A reviewer, writing in the same issue, however, disagrees: "Il semble que M. Machabey ne mesure pas avec assurance l'évolution du goût musical à laquelle les musicologues, tout autant que Schoenberg ou Stravinsky, ont contribué... La musique du XIVe siècle n'est pas aussi éloignée de notre sensibilité qu'il se persuade." (loc. cit., 71)

rondeau, and virelai, had become standardized in the fourteenth century, subject to a definite set of rules. Of all the poetic forms, it was reputed the most difficult. "C'est une chose longue et malaisée à faire et à trouver," said Deschamps in the Art de Dictier, laying down the rules of the genre.[1] Froissart, in the Prison Amoureuse, expressed the same opinion, adding that the composition of a lai took about a year and a half.[2] Machaut's lais conform, in general, with the description by Deschamps. The lai must have twelve stanzas, each of which is divided in two parts, identical in rhyme scheme. These half-stanzas may contain a varying number of lines, and may employ either short or long lines ("vers entiers" or "vers coppez"). The rhyme scheme must be different for each stanza, except the last, which is identical in form with the first.[3] Deschamps' rules are, in fact, abstractions from Machaut's practice. Machaut, as far as can be determined, was the first to standardize the lai, just as he was probably the first to standardize the other poetic forms of the period. Previously,

1 Deschamps, Oeuvres, VII, 287.
2 Quoted by Hoepffner, Deschamps, 133.
3 Deschamps, Oeuvres, VII, 287.

the number of stanzas was not fixed, nor were the rules about the identity of the first and last stanzas and about the parallelism of half-stanzas strictly observed. Yet the standardization of the lai did not result in so rigid a structure as that of the ballades and rondeaux. The form of the individual stanzas remained free, and the greatest variety of stanzaic forms was required. Thus, from a purely poetic point of view, the lai is closer to older traditional practice than the smaller "formes fixes."

The musical form of the lai, as of all mediaeval song forms, corresponds closely to that of the poetry. The first and last stanzas are musically identical, while the parallelism of half-stanzas demands exact musical parallelism. The half-stanzas are very often further subdivided into two sections, musically identical, but with "ouvert" and "clos" cadences.

Of all the musical forms which Machaut employed, the lai has the most ancient lineage. Today nearly all scholars have accepted the theory, first developed by Ferdinand Wolf in 1841, that the lai originates from the sequence.[1] At times, however, the theory has

1 F. Wolf, Uber die Lais, Sequenzen und Leiche (Heidelberg, 1841).

come under attack, particularly by French scholars in search of native origins. In 1901, when Jeanroy and Aubry edited a large anthology of thirteenth century lais, both vigorously combatted Wolf's theory. They held, instead, that the form of these lais originated in the narrative "lais bretons".[1] The "lais bretons", however, remain lost in Celtic mist. None have survived and virtually nothing is known about their form or the music which accompanied them. The hypothesis is, at best, an extremely tenuous one. On the other hand, there are striking resemblances between the sequence and the lai, as Gennrich's analyses have amply demonstrated.[2] In his later writings, moreover, Jeanroy has apparently accepted the consequences of Gennrich's researches, quietly abandoning the theory of Celtic origins of which he had been one of the leading champions.[3]

1 A. Jeanroy, L. Brandin, and P. Aubry, Lais et Descorts Français du XIIIe Siècle (Paris, 1901), xv.
2 Formenlehre, 132-231.
3 Jeanroy, La Poésie Lyrique des Troubadours (1934), II, 372: "...au Nord, le mot lai, qui avait d'abord désigné un genre narratif accompagné d'une mélodie plaintive, s'appliqua ensuite à une forme lyrique issue de la séquence..."

Originally the term "lai" had no very precise signification. It meant simply "chanson", "song", "melody".[1] In a more restricted sense, the term applies to works, generally of a lyric character, whose chief formal trait is the use of parallel repeated sections, as in the Latin sequence. Like the thirteenth century dance forms, the lais apparently originated and flourished in the north of France.[2]

In the thirteenth century lais edited by Jeanroy and Aubry, the number of stanzas varies considerably. Some have as few as four stanzas, others as many as twenty-three. The dimensions of the stanzas, which even in the fourteenth century are variable, range in the earlier lais between two and fifty-six lines.[3] One important characteristic of the genre, as it was cultivated by Machaut, is already well established in these earlier lais: this is the use of short lines, often of three, four, five and six syllables.[4] Musically, too, the thirteenth century lais exhibit a wide variety of melodic styles. Some are extremely

1 Cf. the examples of the term in F. Wolf, Uber die Lais, 3, ff; also Noepffner, ed., Marie de France. Les Lais (Strasbourg, 1921), ix.

2 Carl Appel, "Zur Formenlehre des provenzalischen Minnesangs", ZfRP 53 (1933), 161-162, says that he knows of only three Provencal lais, all comparatively late and probably under northern French influence.

3 Lais et Descorts, vii-viii.

4 Ibid.

simple, using many repeated notes, in chant-like recitation. Others are more elaborate, with many short melismas and a large range, sometimes covering a twelfth in a single phrase.[1]

Closer to Machaut's time are the lais included among the interpolations in the 1316 version of the Roman de Fauvel.[2] The original index to the work, which lists the interpolated "motetz, lais, proses, baladez, rondeaux, respons, antenes, et versez," groups together the Latin proses and French lais. But before discussing these lais, we must first see just how many proses and lais the manuscript actually contains, for there are discrepancies between the various lists. The original index lists 26 works (23 proses and three lais); Aubry[3] lists 31 (23 proses and 8 lais); and Johannes Wolf,[4] from whom most later scholars have taken their figures, lists 32 (24 proses and 8 lais). The correct figure is 28 (24 proses and

1 For analyses of the exceedingly complex structures of the earlier lai and sequence, see Gennrich, Formenlehre, 156 and passim.

2 These lais have not, so far as I know, been edited. They can be studied, however, in Aubry's facsimile edition of the Roman de Fauvel (Paris, 1907).

3 Facsimile edition, pp. 4-5.

4 Geschichte der Mensural-Notation, I, 42-43.

4 lais). Wolf's figure is correct for the proses; the original index omits the work "Ilec quo progreditur", on folio 2, which Wolf has rightly added to the list, making a total of 24. The original index, which lists 3 lais, has also omitted a long composition found on folios 28 bis - 28 ter v (originally unfoliated pages). This lai was catalogued by Wolf and Aubry as five seperate lais. That it is actually only a single composition is shown conclusively by the musical identity of the first and last stanzas. The Roman de Fauvel thus contains only four, not eight lais.

The interpolations in Fauvel do not all date from the same time as the poem itself. Some go back to the early thirteenth century, and many of the proses can be identified with compositions in earlier sources.[1] But most of the French works, including the lais, seem to be of more recent date and are more closely connected by their texts to the main body of the poem.[2]

1 Aubry, facsimile edition, p. 4.
2 This is not always a sure criterion. "Fauvelle qui iam moreris", on f. 29v, is, though related in subject to the poem, a parody of an earlier work. (Aubry, loc. cit., 5.)

The second of the Fauvel lais, "Je qui poair seule ae de confortei," (f. 19-19v) is closely related in subject to the surrounding context and is introduced by the rubric, "Ci s'ensiut un lay de Fortune contre Fauvel, ou quel elle le reprent de son orgueil et de sa fole emprinse selonc la matire du roumans." In form, however, the Fauvel lais are closer to those of the thirteenth century than to Machaut's. Only two of them, "Talant que j'ai d'obeir" (f. 17-18v) and "Pour recouvrer alegiance" (28 bis - 28 terv) have identical first and last stanzas, and the number of stanzas is not yet fixed. Their notation and rhythm, moreover, is that of the thirteenth century. Machaut, in spite of the conservatism of his lais, does make some use of the rhythmic innovations of the fourteenth century.

The principal Machaut manuscripts contain, in all, twenty-three lais, excluding the two doubtful unica of E.[1] Six of these lais are without music. Their grouping with the other lais indicates, however, that they were at least intended for composition. The

1 These two doubtful lais will be discussed in Appendix I.

musical conservatism of the lais should not be taken as an indication that they are exclusively early works. Their composition extends throughout Machaut's artistic career. Of the seventeen lais set to music, eleven (including the one from the Remede) are from the early period, while six are from the later.

With two exceptions, the lais are monodic. This, in itself, is a mark of archaism. The Roman de Fauvel, with its strange mixture of old and new styles, is the last source of fourteenth century music to include monodic compositions. (And the Roman de Fauvel, it should be noted, is not primarily a music manuscript.) By Machaut's time, polyphony had become the exclusive vehicle for new composition, and Machaut is alone in continuing the older tradition. Like the virelais, the lais were completely ignored by contemporary musicians. Although a few of them are included in other literary manuscripts, not one found its way into any other music manuscript of the period.

In some works, the archaic character is emphasized by the use of an outdated form of notation. Six of the lais (nrs. I, II, V, XII, XV, and XIX) are written in longs and breves, with only occasional use of

semibreves (indicated by ligatures cum opposita proprietate). The rhythm of these lais could have been indicated equally well through the use of smaller values -- semibreves and minims. In performance, moreover, the longs of lai II, for instance, are rhythmically equivalent to the breves of lai I, written in more modern notational symbols.[1]

The theorists of the fourteenth century were well aware that with the introduction of smaller note values, the tempo of the music had slowed down. Vitry, in the Ars Nova, distinguished three kinds of tempus perfectum: minimum, medium, and maius. Tempus minimum is that established by Franco, and cannot contain more than three semibreves. These semibreves in tempus minimum are equivalent to three minims in tempus maius.[2] This equivalence is recognized by a number

1 Since only the single lai from the Remede has been published (MM I, 93 and MO II, appendix, 1), we have included in an appendix selected stanzas from the lais, transcribed from the manuscript A (B.N. frç. 1584). The text of only half the stanza has been given in each case, since the musical repetition and text underlaying are identical. The complete texts can be found in Chichmarev, ed., MP II, 279-480.

2 "...ille semibreves in hoc tempore minimo se habeant sicut tres minime in tempore majori," CS III, 21-22.

of other theorists, including Theodoricus de Campo.[1] Jacobus of Liège takes advantage of the fact to combat the moderni. He argues that the new notation merely gives new names and signs to rhythms which had already existed. If one beats the notes, whatever they may be called, one finds that the two systems are identical ad rem. The pretended variety of the moderni does not, therefore, really exist.[2] Jacobus, however, is somewhat unjust to the moderni. While Machaut's lais written in the older notation could have been equally well written in modern form, the reverse is not true. The use of syncopation, which accompanies the use of the smaller note values, cannot be expressed in the older notation. In transcribing the lais, it is necessary to use a different scale of reduction (1/8) for the group in older notation than for the others.

1 "Nam Magister Franco vocat semibreves illas que, quantum ad prolationem, secundum Philippum, possent vocari minime." CS III, 192.

2 "Tacte enim notule quantum ad rem; quicquid sit, de nominibus consimilis videntur valoris et mensure; et si ita est, gloriari non debent moderni quod minimas et semiminimas quantum ad rem invenerint; plus autem de re quam de nominibus curandum est." CS II, 418.

In all of Machaut's monodic lais, the union of poetry and music is especially strong. This does not mean, of course, that there is any attempt to imitate the meaning of the words through music. It means, rather, that the form of the poetry is reflected as closely as possible in the music, and that the musical rhythm is an interpretation of the poetic rhythm. The declamation is predominately syllabic, and the small melismas fit into the basic rhythmic pattern. They do not form independent melodic units, as in the ballades and rondeaux. The lengths of the verse lines, moreover, are reflected in the lengths of the musical phrases. Isometric stanzas will often be realized by a series of musical phrases, identical in rhythm.[1] Sometimes, although the musical phrase lengths are identical, the rhythm is varied slightly within each phrase to avoid monotony.[2] In stanzas where very short verse lines are used, they are often grouped as larger units. Stanza 10 of lai X has, for

1 For example, lai II, stanza 6; lai III, stanza 8; and lai V, stanza 10. See Appendix III. What we might call the "isometry" of the lais is something very different from the isorhythm of the motets. Isorhythm is a purely musical device, not bound to the text, and involving much larger units.

2 For example, lai VII, stanza 4; lai XII, stanza 10.

instance, the following versification:

a3 a3 b3/ a3 a3 b3/ b3 b3 a3/ b3 b3 a3.

This is interpreted musically by four phrases (each including three verse lines) of identical rhythm. In heterometric stanzas, the alternation of long with short verses is faithfully reflected in the music.[1] Repetition of short verse lines is also often treated sequentially (i.e., with identical melody as well as rhythm.)[2] Sequence is much more common in the lais then in the polyphonic compositions, and the close correspondence between music and poetry produces a much more regular and a clearer phrase structure than in the ballades and rondeaux.

As in the older lais, in Machaut's too there is a wide variety of melodic types. Compared with the melodies of the ballades and rondeaux, some of the lai stanzas are of almost ridiculous simplicity.[3] In lai XV, a religious lai to the Virgin, a few stanzas begin with repeated notes, faintly suggestive of the

1 For example, lai XVIII, stanza 3.
2 For example, lai X, stanza 8.
3 See especially, lai XXII, stanza 6.

chant-like repetitions of some of the older lais. But many melodies are more elaborate and Machaut, at times, makes full use of syncopation and the new chromaticism (or "accidentalism") of the fourteenth century.[1]

A few lais deviate, in overall structure, from the norm we have previously described. The first lai is not, properly speaking, a lai at all, but rather a long strophic song. It consists of twenty-four stanzas, which maintain the same rhyme scheme throughout but with different rhymes. The music for the first stanza (written out only once) is simply repeated identically for all the rest. Although its length and number of stanzas relate it to the lai, its structure is more comparable to that of the complainte and chanson roial from the Remede de Fortune (the only examples of these genres which Machaut set to music). They too are monodic, are written in the older form of notation, and are strophic, with the same music repeated for all the stanzas.[2] Lai II has only seven stanzas instead

1 For example, lai VI, stanza 6; lai III, throughout, makes prominent use of the augmented second as a melodic interval, while lai XXI shows, perhaps, the most conspicuous use of syncopation in the lais.

2 Further discussion of these works may be found in the notes which Ludwig contributed to Hoepffner's edition of the Remede (MO II, 410-411).

of the usual twelve. In all the lais, as we have said, the first and last stanzas are identical, in music and in versification. In all but four lais (II, III, XIV, and XVII) the last stanza is, however, an exact transposition of the first, a fifth higher. Usually the latter half of the lai is pitched higher than the first half. The lais thus have an extremely wide range, often a twelfth or more. The half stanzas of the lais are further subdivided into two identical sections, in most cases. But these are varied by occasional freely composed half stanzas, or by half stanzas with a different structure of their own.[1]

Machaut's two canonic lais, XVI and XVII, are extremely interesting but (like the earlier canonic ballade) not entirely successful works. Both present a difficult problem of transcription. In lai XVI, the alternate stanzas bear the rubric "chace", and at the end of each the direction "Iterum sine pausa". In lai XVII, the canonic structure is not explicitly indicated, but at the end of the first stanza appears

1 For example, lai III, stanza 6: ABA form; lai V, stanza 3, AAB form; lai VI, stanza 7, ABB form; lai X, stanza 4, $A_1A_2BA_1A2$; lai XIV, stanza 6, ABA form.

the remark, "Statim et sine pausa dicitur secundus versus...et sic de omnibus aliis." In none of the manuscripts, however, is there the slightest hint of the number of voices into which the canon should be resolved, or the interval at which the voices enter.[1] Although Ludwig did transcribe the lais, his transcriptions were never published. While his concordance table shows that he resolved the canons in three voices, there is no further help from that direction. The transcriber must resort to a series of rather exasperating experiments to solve the problem. Once the interval of six breves is decided upon, however, the canons suddenly fall into place, rhythmically and harmonically.[2] There is little doubt, moreover, that a three voice resolution of the canons is necessary. The third voice often fills in hoquet rhythms and at points where the harmonic interval between the two

1 E, as always an unreliable manuscript, gives no indication of the canonic structure at all.

2 One reason this interval is difficult to arrive at is that/many canons the second voice enters at unlikely harmonic intervals -- sixths, thirds, and even a second in one case (lai XVII, stanza 4). (This canon, at one point, made me despair of finding any solution.) Even in this case, the interval of six breves is the only one which will yield anything like satisfactory results for the canon as a whole.

voices is a fourth, the third voice often adds the lower octave. Since the music must be repeated for the second half of the stanza, the canons must be performed as rounds. It is in the sections of overlap, where one voice is ending and the others beginning again, that the musical results are apt to be least satisfactory. Harmonically, the canons are rather monotonous, with the same concordances occurring over and over again. To Machaut's credit, on the other hand, it may be said that the rhythmic interplay of the voices is often lively. The use of hoquet rhythms, however, tends to disrupt the usual close relationship of the music to the text. In stanza 10 of lai XVII, Machaut combines canon and isorhythm -- with what can only be described as weird results. As types of canon, Machaut's are unique.[1] They are also very different from his other works.[2]

In lai XVII, canon is a purely musical device, in no way related to, or required by the text. In

1 Feininger, Die Frühgeschichte des Kanons, 13.

2 It is not a question of fourteenth century music no longer being comprehensible to the modern ear. Machaut's motets, ballades, and mass make perfect musical sense. The canons, however, fall short of complete artistic success.

lai XVI, however, an extremely subtle use of musical symbolism is involved. Like lai XV, it has a religious text, in honor of the Virgin. But, more specifically, the text deals throughout with the mystery of the Virgin's having borne in her womb the three persons of the Holy Trinity. To elucidate the mystery of the Trinity, Machaut uses the metaphor of a fountain. The spout is God the Father, the fountain proper (the jet of water) is the Son, proceeding from the Father, and the stream which flows from the fountain is the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and Son. This poetic device enables Machaut to evoke the traditional ideas of the water of life and the washing away of sins. The musical device of canon adds the final touch to the elaborate symbolism. The three-voice stanzas, derived from a single voice and alternating with one-voice stanzas, further emphasize the idea of the mysterious unity of the Trinity, the Three in One.[1] This charming, if somewhat pedantic, piece of ingenuity may incline us to forgive whatever musical shortcomings may be found in the canons themselves.

1 The presence of this symbolism obviously confirms the solution of the canons arrived at on purely musical grounds. The interval which separates the canonic voices should probably now be described as three longs rather than six breves!

Chapter VII

The Mass

Machaut's polyphonic setting of the ordinary of the mass occupies a paradoxical position in the history of music. Guillaume de Van, in the foreword to his edition, calls it "the best known of all mediaeval polyphonic works."[1] Yet in Machaut's own repertory, and that of fourteenth century music as a whole, it holds a comparatively obscure place. While, in a sense, it has historical importance as the first known complete setting of the ordinary by a single composer, its actual influence is difficult to assess. It has no immediate imitators in the fourteenth century, and it is doubtful whether the creators of the great fifteenth century masses even knew it. The later unified mass cycle, which was not firmly established until nearly a century later, seems to have taken a different starting point and line of development.

In Machaut's music, and in fourteenth century music as a whole, what we might consider a normal

1 La Messe de Nostre Dame, American Institute of Musicology in Rome, 1949.

hierarchy of genres is strangely reversed. The large and monumental mass is almost a unique work, very much in the background, and the broadly sketched motets take second place to the miniatures, the small ballades and rondeaux.

While isolated polyphonic settings of parts of the ordinary are found as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries, until the Renaissance there is no continuous tradition of polyphonic ordinary compositions, nor is any consistent style evolved for them. The liturgical organum centered around the proper, not the ordinary of the mass. A few early examples of polyphonic ordinary settings are found, however, among the organa of the Winchester troper and the St. Martial manuscripts. These early examples are almost exclusively connected with tropes.[1] The composers of the Notre Dame school, however, concentrated entirely upon the proper. With the rise of the motet and the decline of organum in the course of the thirteenth century, liturgical music receded into the background, where it remained until the Renaissance.

1 Peter Wagner, Geschichte der Messe. I. Teil: Bis 1600 (Leipzig, 1913), 29, ff. It should be noted that tropes, by putting the ordinary into relation with specific feasts, tend to connect the ordinary with the proper.

The predominant forms of the fourteenth century are purely secular. Isolated examples of polyphonic settings of the ordinary survive from the thirteenth century, but mostly in manuscripts from countries peripheral to the chief center of style.[1]

Polyphonic settings of single mass movements become more plentiful in the fourteenth century, in both France and Italy, although they by no means rival the motets, ballades, or madrigals. Apart from Machaut's mass, however, in only two cases have the isolated movements been combined into a larger cycle: in the mass of Tournai,[2] and in an Italian mass cycle (without the Kyrie) found in Paris, B.N. it. 568.[3] Only Machaut's mass, however, was actually composed as a cycle. The other two were apparently put together from single movements written by different composers.

There are two questions which naturally arise about this development. First, why did the fourteenth

1 Charles E. H. Coussemaker, ed., Messe du XIIIe Siècle (1861).

2 Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmige Messe des 14. Jahrhunderts," AfMW 7 (1925), 419, ff. DeWan, ed., Les Monuments de l'Ars Nova. Fascicule I. Morceaux Liturgiques I. Oeuvres Italiennes (Paris, 1939), p. iv. Handschin in the Revue Belge de Musicologie I, 97, speaks of having found in the manuscript Toulouse 94, a three-voice mass cyle in "genre cantilène" followed by a "motetus super Ite missa est," with a trope text.

century composers turn from the proper to the ordinary? and second, why, in a few cases, were the single movements combined in a larger cycle? Unfortunately there is small prospect that either of these questions will ever be fully answered. Before the fifteenth century, the tradition of polyphonic mass settings is too discontinuous, too full of gaps to admit of complete explanation. Ludwig, in attempting to answer the first question, connected the rise of ordinary settings with the decline of well-schooled church choirs and singers.[1] A single organum for the proper, connected with a specific feast of the church year, could be performed only seldom. A large repertory was therefore required, and trained singers capable of mastering it. The chants of the ordinary, on the other hand, although they vary sometimes with the church year, are common to all services. Their melodies are not bound to a single text, as in the proper. Ludwig argued that towards the end of the thirteenth century there was a decline of standards of performance, and that, as a consequence, composers

1 AfMW 7, 429, ff.

turned to the ordinary. This seems a reasonable hypothesis, but there are several drawbacks. In the first place, there is no evidence, as far as I know, that there actually was a decline in standards of performance.[1] Moreover, the polyphonic portions of the organa, like almost all the polyphonic forms of the Middle Ages, were performed by soloists, not by choirs. It is difficult to believe that in the age of the ballade and the isorhythmic motet skilled soloists were not still available.

To further complicate the problem, there are documents which suggest that polyphonic performance of the mass was more common than the musical sources suggest. In 1324-1325, pope John XXII directed a bull against the "disciples of the new school," complaining that "the music of the divine offices is now performed with semibreves and minims." Concerned lest the musicians become "entirely ignorant concerning the ecclesiastical tones, which they already no longer distinguish," he forbade practically all forms of

1 Ludwig does not seem to have any specific instances or documents in mind.

polyphony. Only a restrained use of organum, "the use of some consonances, for example the eighth, fifth, and fourth, which heighten the beauty of the melody," is still permitted.[1] Historians are generally agreed that the bull had little actual influence over composers. What is surprising is that such polyphonic performances of the liturgy were common enough in the first quarter of the fourteenth century to call forth such a document.

To explain why, in the fourteenth century, single mass movements were grouped as a cycle, is even more difficult. There is no liturgical reason for such a grouping, and in Gregorian chant, no attempt was made to unify musically the parts of the ordinary.[2] The musical unity of the fifteenth century polyphonic masses is extra-liturgical:

1 Quotations are from the English translation in H. E. Woolridge, The Oxford History of Music (2nd edition, 1929) I, 294-296.

2 Later, in the chant revival of the seventeenth century, such attempts were made, under the influence of the polyphonic masses. (Wagner, op. cit., 25) Bukofzer, however, has pointed out that the manuscript Turin J.II.9 (originating in Cyprus in the fifteenth century -- Cf. AfMW VII, 210) contains five Gregorian mass cycles. (Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (New York, 1950), 225.)

> "It takes a very bold and independent mind to conceive the idea that the invariable parts of the Mass should be composed not as separate liturgical items, but as a set of five musically coherent compositions. In the latter case the means of unification are provided by the composer, not the liturgy. This idea, which is the historical premise of the cyclic Ordinary, betrays the weakening of purely liturgical considerations and the strengthening of essentially aesthetic concepts."[1]

But Machaut's mass, although it has a kind of stylistic unity, is not unified by repetition of thematic material, or by the maintenance of the same cantus firmus for all movements as are the fifteenth century masses. The mass of Tournai and the Italian mass cycle of B. N. it. 568, have still less stylistic unity. These early examples are extremely difficult to explain. The best guess is that they were assembled for certain specific occasions. That is why the hypothesis that Machaut's was a coronation mass for Charles V (although unfounded, and virtually ruled out on chronological grounds) had, at one time, considerable plausibility. In the period following Machaut, the idea of the cyclic mass seems to be forgotten for a time. It is as if the early fifteenth century composers had forgotten

1 Bukofzer, Studies, 218; Cf. Wagner, op. cit., 22 and passim.

that such cycles had existed. They start from musically unified Gloria-Credo, or Sanctus-Agnus pairs, and only later arrive at the full-fledged cycle.[1]

Between the organa of the Notre Dame school and the masses of the fifteenth century, no style exclusively appropriate to religious music was evolved. When fourteenth century composers, French and Italian, wrote polyphonic mass movements, they drew on whatever secular styles were available; conductus, motet, and later, ballade and madrigal.[2] The Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus of the mass of Tournai are in the style of the thirteenth century motet, over liturgical tenors (although their sources have not been found),[3] while the Ite missa est combines the Latin text of the motetus with a secular French text in the triplum. These sections, in extremely conservative motet style, are probably from the thirteenth century. The mass movements with fuller texts, the Gloria and Credo, are in conductus style, and seem to be of more recent

1 Cf. Bukofzer, Studies, 219, ff.
2 Ludwig's essay, "Die mehrstimmige Messe des 14. Jahrhunderts," AfMW 7, 417, ff., is by far the most complete discussion of the subject.
3 Cf. Coussemaker's edition, and Wagner, op. cit., 37.

composition.[1] A few of the twenty-five mass movements found in the codex Ivrea are in conductus style, but motet style is more common -- the motet style of the fourteenth century rather than the older style of the Tournai mass. Others have a structure similar to that of the ballade.[2] The latest fascicle of the Apt manuscript (fascicle 4) contains a number of mass movements which make use of the contemporary ballade

1 Handschin, in the Revue Belge de Musicologie I, 96, has also called into question the term conductus style as applied to compositions of this kind. Although the polyphonic conductus disappeared in the course of the thirteenth century, the note-against-note style, with simultaneous declamation, which continued to be used sporadically in other genres, seems to be derived historically from the polyphonic conductus. Handschin's arguments do not convince us that the term has outlived its usefullness. Gombosi, apparently influenced by Handschin, says of Machaut's mass: "Thus Gloria and Credo are neither isorhythmic nor built upon any cantus firmus. To call them 'conductus-like' or 'ballade-like' is hardly permissible...Certain features of the conductus seem to survive in them. They are almost syllabic in style and move about in nearly simultaneous pronunciation of the text." No one has ever proposed calling these movements "ballade-like," and "conductus-like" is, in fact, exactly what Gombosi ends by calling them. Explanations were simpler before Handschin urged us to multiply terms beyond necessity.

2 Besseler, AfMW 7, 193; Ludwig, AfMW 7, 425. I have been unable to obtain Assen Kresteff, Die mehrstimmigen Messkompositionen des Codex Ivrea (Munich, diss., 1947, unpublished?)

style.[1] The freedom with which both French and Italian composers applied secular styles and forms to the mass in the latter part of the fourteenth century, is well illustrated by a Gloria in Modena lat. 568, set as a "fuga." It has the form of the Italian caccia, closely associated with hunting songs; two canonic voices, with the same words, and a free instrumental supporting voice.[2]

Although Machaut's four-voice mass has archaic features of style, it is not an early work. It appears first in Vg, a manuscript containing works through Machaut's middle period. While its date unfortunately cannot be pinned down very closely, it was written sometime in the forties or fifties, and before 1364. When Machaut composed it, he had reached complete artistic maturity. All but a few of his motets already lay behind him, and he had formulated his mature ballade style. Since in the fourteenth century there was no established tradition of liturgical music to fall back on -- organum had long been in disuse -- theoretically, a wide area of choice lay open to

1 Cf. A. Gastoué, Le Manuscrit de Musique du Trésor d'Ant (Paris, 1936), xvii; Besseler, AfMW 7, 202.
2 Ludwig, AfMW 7, 423.

Machaut. He might well have adapted the new ballade style to the mass, as did other composers of his generation and slightly later. Instead he chose to set the sections of the mass which have lengthy texts in conductus style (Gloria and Credo), while for the sections with short texts he used the structure of the isorhythmic motet. The mass of Tournai, if we can assume Machaut knew it, may have influenced his choice. (Like it, Machaut's mass is also a six-part cycle, concluding with the Ite missa est.) But the mass of Tournai could not have exclusively determined that choice. His sense of musical and liturgical fitness must also have come into play. Motet and conductus were the only available styles which had at least some relation to the liturgy. The motet, with its Gregorian tenor, still carried traces of its origin, and the conductus too (although we cannot judge the extent of fourteenth century knowledge on this point) had once belonged primarily to the religious sphere. Machaut, moreover, was not content to transfer his motet style unchanged to another genre. While the mass draws on several different styles, it nevertheless has a distinct style of its own. In a musical

age which did not favor the development of a unified religious style, Machaut approximated this ideal as closely as possible.

The overall structure of the Kyrie, the Amen of the Credo, the Sanctus, Agnus, and Ite missa est is determined by isorhythm.[1] The sections within single movements are differentiated through a change of talea. The sections of the Kyrie, for instance, are based on different, but related taleae.[2] The last Kyrie, instead of simply being repeated three times, like the first Kyrie and the Christe, is broadened by the setting of the third repetition as a separate section with its own talea.[3] The isorhythmic movements are based on the corresponding liturgical melodies as tenors: the Kyrie on the Kyrie melody Cunctipotens genitor deus (in festis duplicibus), the Sanctus and Agnus on the Sanctus and Agnus melodies

1 All references to the mass are to De Van's edition (American Institute of Musicology in Rome, 1949).

2 The rhythm on which the first Kyrie is based -- o. do o. -- the rhythm of the old third mode, reappears, in modified forms in the taleae of the Christe and last Kyrie.

3 We shall not attempt to give an exhaustive analysis of the isorhythmic structure of the mass. It is presented in De Van's edition with great clarity, and is easily grasped.

for the Sundays in Advent and Lent.[1] While the tenor source for the Ite missa est has not yet been precisely identified, it too was undoubtedly liturgical. Although hoquet is used, as in the motets, tenor diminution is not.

The tenors of the movements in conductus style, on the other hand, were probably freely composed. Their melodic style makes it unlikely that they were liturgical.[2]

Attempts have been made, however, to show that there is extensive paraphrasing of chant melody in the upper voices of the Credo.[3] The case against such claims is well summed up in Bukofzer's recent book:

> "...the more our knowledge of cantus firmus treatment in the period increases the more doubtful they become. The authors were able to construct certain melodic correspondences between the composed voice and the plainsong only by selecting notes arbitrarily, by disregarding the difference between structurally important notes at the cadences and merely ornamental ones, by assuming transpositions whenever necessary, by drawing on isolated notes from another voice if convenient, and by postulating at times even cancrizans motion.

1 Machabey states in the preface to his edition, "L'Agnus reprend le thème du Sanctus." These are two distinct Gregorian melodies, although they are in the same mode, and are slightly similar.
2 Wagner, op. cit., 44.
3 Handschin, "Zur Frage der melodischen Paraphrasierung im Mittelalter," ZfMW 10 (1928), 542-543.

> Here again, the method of such 'proof' is questionable in itself; given a certain mode and the restrictions of melody writing of the time, almost any melody can be forcibly derived from plainsong of the same mode simply because there are only seven notes in each and correspondences result merely from fortuitous agreement...The compositions of OH and, incidentally of the Apt MS also, give an entirely different picture of what real cantus-firmus treatment looked like, and even when they depart from the plainsong with freely inserted melismas the connection between figured elaboration and its model is never as tenuous as it is in the above-mentioned examples."[1]

Within the Gloria and Credo, sub-sections can be further distinguished, and Gombosi has described their overall structure as one of "strophic variation." This is probably acceptable, if one keeps in mind that the variations are extremely free.[2] In both movements the syllabic passages are occasionally interrupted by short, recurrent phrases, presumably instrumental, of the tenor and contratenor alone.[3]

Much has been made of the passage in the Credo,

1 Studies, 52, 53.
2 O. Gombosi, "Machaut's Messe Notre-Dame," MQ 36 (1950), 209-212. The detailed analysis of the Credo, however, seems somewhat forced, especially where supposedly corresponding phrases are of very different lengths. Nor do I find the discovery of isorhythmic symmetries in the mass and motets convincing.
3 Similar short textless phrases are repeated in a two-voice Credo by Bartolino of Padua, ed. De Van, Les Monuments de L'Ars Nova, I, 5, ff.

"ex Maria virgine," with its extremely marked slowing of the rhythm.[1] In Vg, one of the best manuscripts, the mass is entitled "La Messe de Nostre Dame," and while no other manuscript contains the title, it probably corresponds to Machaut's intention. The emphasis is thus quite appropriate. In the Gloria, however, there are similar passages at the beginning, and twice on the words "Jesu Christe."[2]

Not only motet and conductus styles are reflected in the mass; there are also features which seem to come from the ballade. In the isorhythmic movements, syncopation is used more generously than in the motets, while in the Gloria Amen (which is not isorhythmic like that of the Credo) the contratenor is modelled more closely after the ballade than the motet contratenor. Yet the characteristic features of the mass are not accounted for simply by referring to other styles. It has a stylistic unity which transcends the difference between the movements in motet and conductus styles.

1 The "sharp dissonance" on the word Crucifixus which Reese noticed was not Machaut's but a mistake in Wolf's transcription. (Music in the Middle Ages, 357.)
2 Comparable emphasis of the words "Jesu Christe" is found also in a Gloria of Gherardello, ed. De Van, Monuments, I, pp. 1, ff.

Machaut preserves the rhythmic unity of the mass first, by maintaining the same tempus and prolation in all movements. More important, in all movements the modus is maintained as the unit of measure and the breve as the beat. This means that in the isorhythmic movements there is not the degree of rhythmic contrast between the tenor and the upper voices which is characteristic of Machaut's motets, where the more rapid movement of triplum and motetus obscures the slower rhythm of the tenor. Machaut's three-voice instrumental hoquet, which follows the mass in the manuscript A, is comparable to the isorhythmic movements of the mass in this respect.[1]

1 Edited by De Van, Les Monuments de l'Ars Nova. Double Hoquet: Guillaume de Machaut (Paris, 1938). It is isorhythmic, with a conflict of talea and color. The tenor, David, occurs at the end of the verse Alleluia Nativitas gloriose virginis Marie ex semine Abrahe orta de tribu Juda clara ex stirpe David, at the point where the choir takes up the chant. The soloistic portion of the chant was used as the tenor of several Notre Dame organa (MW II, 63*; A. Gastoué, Les Primitifs de la Musique Française (Paris, 1922), 62). The instrumental hoquet was a thirteenth century form, of which a number of examples appear in the Montpellier manuscript, (Cf. Roksoth, op. cit., IV, 83, 84), but which was no longer cultivated in the fourteenth century. The archaic character of Machaut's hoquet, like that of the mass, is reflected in the lack of strong rhythmic differentiation of the voices, and in its archaic notation.

In the mass, the most florid passages in the upper voices are never allowed to obscure the rhythmic skeleton. This tends to bring the isorhythmic and conductus movements into closer stylistic unity. Even in the isorhythmic movements, the basic motion is strongly chordal and homophonic. The style of the mass is one of marked consonance; linear counterpoint is subordinated to the basic chord progressions and cadences. The resulting effect of severity and strength sets the mass apart from Machaut's other works. The first Kyrie admirably establishes the tone and spirit of the entire mass. In it the basic rhythmic motion of longs and breves emerges with special clarity. The quicker minim passages are not introduced until the Christe. While the contratenor and the upper voices are treated as two and one-third isorhythmic talea, the tenor contains seven rhythmic repetitions. The rhythm of the tenor is, in fact, purely modal, and its subdivisions are not, properly speaking, talea, but the older ordines of the thirteenth century motet.[1]

1 Its rhythm is that of the first perfect ordo of the third rhythmic mode.

As an artistic achievement, Machaut's mass is of the highest order. While it draws on the modern technique of isorhythm, and, at times, reflects even the style of the ballade, these traits are subordinated to a higher unity of style, a style which is closer in spirit to the *Ars antiqua* than to the *Ars nova*. Even the arch-conservative, Jacobus of Liège, had he heard it, might have approved.

Chapter VIII

Music, Poetry, and Performance

Machaut, in his double role as poet and musician, is sometimes referred to as the last of the trouvères. It is true that he is almost the last important poet who set to music his own verses.[1] We find Deschamps already stating that in his time poets are no longer familiar with music.[2] But even in Machaut's works, there are many signs of the dissolution of the older union of poetry and music. While the union of poetry and music is upheld as an ideal in the Prologue and, implicitly, in the Remede de Fortune, the ideal is no longer completely realized. Machaut is, indeed, one of the first poets to write purely literary lyrics; numerically they far outweigh the poems set to music.[3] In the Remede, where Machaut illustrated each of the lyric forms, each is provided with music, yet, although he wrote other complaintes and chansons royales, only

1 The Elizabethan, Thomas Campion, is one of the very few later exceptions.
2 Cf. Chapter V, 202.
3 Cf. Chapter V, 202.

the single examples of the Remede are set to music. The polyphonic style of the ballades and rondeaux, the most important genres of Machaut's repertory, dissolves, moreover, the rhythmic unity of word and tone.

To understand the relationship of music and poetry, not only in Machaut's work, but in that of most mediaeval composers, we cannot rely on conceptions drawn from the art-song or opera of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[1] Nothing could be farther from a Wagnerian synthesis of the arts than the music of Machaut, of the trouvères, and of the composers of thirteenth century polyphony. As we tried to show in an earlier chapter, the symbolic weight of music in the Middle Ages was so great as to render it independent of any concrete expressive relationship to a given text. As many a mediaeval theorist stated, music pertained, as it were, to all things. The circling of the planets, the structure of man's soul,

1 This approach vitiates most of the general conclusions in Calvin S. Brown's Music and Literature: A Comparison of the Arts (University of Georgia Press, 1948). What is true of the vocal music of a limited historical period is assumed to be true of all vocal music. It is as if one were to generalize about the character of English poetry, leaving out Chaucer and Shakespeare.

the union of lover and lady -- all this was music. Thus it is only around the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the mediaeval view of music (although it survived much longer) had lost its force, that a real interest arose in musical imitation of the words. In mediaeval music there is, however, the closest possible correspondence of form between music and text.

At a more fundamental level than reinforcement of meaning, or formal correspondence, what advantages are there in providing a poem with music, or music with a text? The simplest, and truest answer to the first question is probably that of Ezra Pound: "The value of music as elucidation of verse comes from the attention it throws on to the detail."[1] As for the second question -- providing music with a text enables the composer to use the resources of one of the finest, and most easily available of all musical instruments, the human voice. The organa of the Notre Dame school were usually all melisma, vocalized over two or three syllables of text. In modern performance, the organa

1 A B C of Reading (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1934), 140.

still command the greatest admiration from a purely artistic viewpoint, even though their texts, when severed from the liturgy, are completely meaningless. The change of syllable often begins a new section, with the contrast of vowel sounds emphasizing the musical structure. The subtle contrast of tone color between melismas on different vowels, like the contrast of syllabic and melismatic passages in Machaut's ballades, is an effect possible only in vocal music, but completely independent of the meaning of the text.

Although examples of text painting do exist in the Middle Ages, they are extremely rare. In Machaut's music, the retrograde rondeau, "Ma fin est mon commencement," and the canonic "Lai de la Fonteinne" are among the very few examples in which the meaning of the text is musically imitated. It is a mistake to believe that in the fourteenth century:

> "The high valuation of the imitative element in art entailed graver dangers for music than for painting. Composition of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries really suffered from the craze for naturalistic music, such as the caccia."[1]

1 Huizinga, Waning of the Middle Ages, 247.

There are only five French chaces preserved, and only about twenty caccia among hundreds of Italian compositions. The musical imitation of the text in fourteenth century music, moreover, is apt to take a somewhat different form than that to which we are accustomed in the music of more recent times.

Any relationship in meaning between the text and the music of a given composition is somewhat comparable to the relationship between the parts of a poetic metaphor. For analytic purposes, two main types of poetic metaphor, to which two types of musical metaphor correspond, may be distinguished: one based on a structural or formal analogy, the other on a sensuous analogy. A few examples may make the distinction clear. The first is from a fifteenth century list of stock comparisons for the Virgin:

> "Item, elle est comparée a la fleur de lis, pour ce que la dicte fleur porte en milieu de soy la croix, comme elle porta Jhesu Crist en ses precieux flans.
>
> Item, elle est comparée a la rose...la rose est brune, blanche, vermeille et inde, souef, tendre et odorant."[1]

In the first case, the grounds of the comparison, as

1 Langlois, ed., Recueil d'Arts de Seconde Rhétorique, 72.

explicitly defined, are purely structural. The Virgin who bore Jesus Christ is like the lily, which has a cross in its center. In the second, it is rather the sensuous qualities -- color, sweetness, perfume -- common to both the rose and the Virgin, which form the basis of the comparison. These two types are, of course, abstractions, seldom encountered in a pure state in actual poetry.[1] Mediaeval religious and love allegory is especially given to structural analogies, often highly incongruous in their sensuous implications. Machaut's Dit de l'Alerion, in which the habits of birds of prey are made the basis of a love allegory, contains many interesting examples of such a procedure. Machaut explains, for instance, that it is in the nature of the hawk to have cold feet. When the hawk wishes to sleep he therefore catches a small bird to put under his feet and warm them through the night. The small bird spends the night in fear of imminent death, but when daybreak comes, the hawk courteously releases him, and even

1 The kind of imagery associated with the English metaphysical poets tends to emphasize structural similarities, but sensuous connotations are present at the same time. Similarity of sensous qualities, moreover, is ultimately based on similarity of structure.

smoothes his feathers. The hawk observes him closely so as to recognize him, and to leave him in peace all the next day in return for his service. This bit of natural history is then painstakingly allegorized. The hawk is the lady, and the small bird is the heart of the lover which he places at her feet. The fear of death which the small bird feels is the lover's fear of being refused. With daybreak, however, the lady takes pity on the lover's heart.[1] The entire comparison, we might add, is carried out without the slightest trace of either humour or scandal.

Most of the familiar forms of musical imitation of the text belong primarily to the sensuous type -- realistic imitation of bird calls or other sounds of nature; use of dissonance to express pain or grief; or use of chromaticism to emphasize points of emotional intensity in the text. In Machaut's retrograde rondeau, or in the canonic lai which symbolizes the Trinity, on the other hand, the basis of the musical imitation is structural. The imitation does not concern simply single words or phrases, but the entire text. Thus these works are really musical allegories rather than musical metaphors; and this kind of "word

1 Lines 1285-1440.

painting" is something very different from that involved in the "madrigalisms" of the sixteenth century. The fourteenth century *chace* and *caccia*, however, do contain much realistic imitation of the cries of dogs, the shouts of hunters, or the sound of hunting horns. Yet, on a more fundamental level, it is the very structure of the hunt which is translated into musical terms, the chase of pursuer and pursued expressed by the two canonic voices.

The fourteenth century ideals of performance, like the ideals of text-setting, are naturally very different, although no less valid, than those of the last two centuries. In the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, composers seem to move closer and closer to identifying a musical composition with a given set of acoustical conditions. A piece of music no longer consists simply of relationships of tones and time-values, which in performance may be realized in a variety of ways; it also includes given *timbi*, a given combination of instruments, a given level of pitch, a given scheme of dynamics. We even hear talk of a time in the future when there will be composing-machines capable of reproducing exactly

any desired tone color, which will make it possible for composers to record their exact intentions -- this unique performance will then be the piece of music. It may be hard to realize that this attitude towards music has arisen only in comparatively recent times. To mention only a single aspect of performance, that of pitch, Arthur Mendel concluded, in an extremely interesting study:[1]

> "It is impossible to establish 'the' pitch of any period before the second half of the nineteenth century, because pitch varied greatly from town to town, and even from church to church within the same town. The pitch of secular music, having no such anchor as the organ, doubtless varied even more widely than that of church music."[2]

The lack of precise indications for performance in the music before the middle of the eighteenth century is sometimes taken as a sign of primitiveness, or even of negligence. There is much to be said, however, in favor of the more liberal attitude towards performance implicit in the music of earlier times. The attitude symbolized by the composing-machine of the future is

1 "Pitch in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries," MQ 34 (1948), pp. 28, 199, 336, 575.
2 Ibid., 591. The tuning fork, Mendel notes, was not invented until 1711.

like one which would identify Shakespeare's King Lear with any one performance of the play. Yet the richness of Lear, of Bach's keyboard fugues, or of Machaut's ballades and motets -- in short, of all complex art works -- can probably never be exhausted by a single performance. There is always something left over, facets which appear only when the work is placed in a slightly different light, seen from a different angle. The earlier attitude towards performance is a recognition of the principle that musical fact and acoustical fact are not identical.

In fourteenth century music the possibilities for performance are very flexible. The pitch range, the choice of instruments, and, as we have already seen, even the number of voices may vary. "The lack of stability, not only in music of the fourteenth century, but also in much other older music," according to one scholar, "is obviously a serious handicap to us today, since we cannot be certain to what degree a MS faithfully represents the way in which a particular compositions was actually performed."[1] Yet there seems

1 Reese, Music in the Middle Ages, 352-353.

no reason to doubt that the manuscript versions do indeed represent authentic but different possibilities for performance. This flexibility should be, in fact, cause for rejoicing rather than for dismay on the part of modern musicians. Where instruments are concerned, for instance, it means that in order to perform Machaut we do not need to wait until we have on hand rebecs, viols, or even recorders. Modern strings and woodwinds will do. While the older instruments have the advantage of thinner, sharper tone, perhaps better suited to bringing out the individual voices with clarity, modern performances with modern instruments cannot be ruled out on either aesthetic or historical grounds. Older music is actually more universal, less bound to particular historical circumstances, than that of recent times. If the nineteenth century orchestra ever becomes obsolete, Debussy's music, inseperable from particular tone colors and instrumental effects, will be in much greater need of historical reconstruction than Machaut's or Bach's.

The instrumentarium of the fourteenth century was extremely varied.[1] This is evident from the lists

1 Jacobus of Liège acknowledges the superiority of modern instruments and singers: "Ex caritate puto autem, quod instrumenta musicalia moderni temporis multo perfectiora sint illis quibus utebantur antiqui, cum regnaret illa simplex et modesta musica. Puto etiam, quod cantores moderni et cantores longe perfectiores sunt, quam essent illi antiqui." W. Grossman, ed., Die einleitenden Kapitel des Speculum Musicae (Leipzig, 1924), 91.

of instruments which Machaut gives in the Remede de Fortune in his description of an outdoor concert, and in the Prise d'Alexandrie in the description of the festivities accompanying the entrance of the King of Cyprus into Prague.[1] The number and variety of instruments listed is indeed astonishing. Such lists are not uncommon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Similar ones are found, for instance, in the Echecs amoureux[2] and in the work of Jehan Lefevre.[3] Whether such lists correspond to any reality sometimes seems doubtful, since we know of no contemporary music which would apparently require such large orchestras, and since many instruments mentioned could not be heard if others were playing at the same time. Yet other types of sources -- inventories of noble establishments, and miniatures -- make it clear that such orchestras were really employed on certain occasions.[4]

1 Both passages are reprinted in MW I, 102, and II, 53*.
2 H. Abert, "Die Musikästhetik der Echecs Amoureus," SIMG 16 (1904), 346.
3 Gennrich, "Zur Musikinstrumentenkunde der Machaut-Zeit," ZfMW 9 (1927), 513.
4 Cf. Pirro in La Musique française du moyen âge à la Révolution. Catalogue rédigé par Amédée Gastoué, l'abbé V. Leroquais, André Pirro, Henry Expert, Henry Prunières (Paris, Editions des Bibliothèques Nationales de France, 1934), p. 23.

In many lists, although not in Machaut's, there is a division between the "instruments haulz" and the "instruments bas."[1] This classification does not refer to pitch but to dynamic level. The "instruments haulz," the loud instruments (such as trumpets) were used more for outdoor music, dances, and festive occasions.[2] Forms such as the ballade and rondeau, however, and probably most of Machaut's music, drew upon the "instruments bas."

Machaut's polyphonic style, especially in the ballades, was based on strong individualization of the voices. Thus, from a purely artistic point of view, it is preferable to assign each voice to an instrument of different tone-color. Moreover, the frequent crossing of the instrumental voices is heard more clearly when different instruments are used. In the fourteenth century, as pictorial sources show, a contrast of sonorities was, indeed, deliberately cultivated.[3] But as long as this principle is observed, the choice of instruments can be left to the

1 Cf. A. Pirro, Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIVe siècle à la fin du XVIe (Paris, 1940), 8, ff.
2 Marius Schneider, Die Ars Nova des XIV. Jahrhunderts, 23. Schneider's book contains one of the best discussions available on fourteenth century conditions of performance.
3 Ibid., 30.

discretion of the performers.

We have spoken of the wider degree of freedom in the performance of older music. This freedom, of course, is never absolute. It is always restricted by the nature of the music itself. The musical style must be fully respected in performance, and Machaut's style is one which imposes severe restrictions of a certain kind. Above all, it demands absolute rhythmic precision of the performers. Any attempt to introduce ritards or rubatos will simply throw out of balance the complex rhythmic relationship of the voices to each other. The greatest possible clarity, both of rhythm and tone, is the chief requisite for performing Machaut's music.

The correspondence between Peronne and Machaut, which is reproduced in the Voir Dit is especially valuable for the light it throws not only on the habits of performance but also on some of Machaut's habits of composition. We have already seen that when Machaut sent to Peronne his double ballade, he asked her to learn it, and Peronne frequently writes of singing Machaut's compositions. "And please send me some of your songs," she will write, "as often as

you can; for when I have yours, I have no desire to sing any others."[1] Yet almost all Machaut's music is written down in a range more suitable for a tenor than for an alto or soprano. The pitch at which the works may be sung thus varies rather widely, and transposition may easily take place. There are signs that this is true of other mediaeval music as well. Yvonne Rokseth has pointed out that at the end of the Las Huelgas codex there is a two-voice exercise for nuns. The composition, however, is written down in the same clef which is used throughout the manuscript. "Neither the clef nor the apparent tessitura of works contained in thirteenth and fourteenth century manuscripts," she concludes, "indicates whether they were intended for masculine or for feminine voices. There is absolutely no justification for referring such clef signs to modern practice, the C clefs on the first and second lines indicating performance by higher voices, the other C clefs and the F clefs being kept for men's voices. No precision of this kind is intended by the manner of notation." As

1 "...et aussi de vos chansons, le plus souvent que vous porrés; car tant comme j'ay des vostres je ne quiers à chanter nulles autres." p. 28.

she further points out, transposition was relatively simple, thanks to the mediaeval system of solmisation.[1] Certain thirteenth century motets, moreover, are presented by different manuscripts in keys a fourth or a fifth apart.[2] When fourteenth century compositions were sung by men, pictorial sources seem to indicate that use of falsetto voice was common.[3] But there is no single fixed key for Machaut's music. Modern singers should feel free to transpose it to any convenient pitch-level.

In sending to Peronne the music for "Nes qu'on porroit," (ballade 33) Machaut has some interesting suggestions for its performance. "Whoever performs it on organs, bagpipes, or other instruments," he comments, "why that's its very nature."[4] These remarks probably apply not merely to this single work, but to almost all of Machaut's music. To substitute an

1 Rokseth, "Les femmes musiciennes du XII^e au XIV^e siècle," Romania 61 (1935), 479.
2 Rokseth, Polyphonies du XIII^e Siècle, IV, 49.
3 Schneider, op. cit., 26, 27.
4 "...et qui la porroit mettre sus les orgues, sus cornemuses ou autres instrumens, c'est sa droite nature." (Voir Dit, 69)

instrument for a vocal part was an ancient custom, and several romances mention the instrumental performance of lais.[1] In fourteenth century Italy too, no hard and fast line was drawn between vocal and instrumental performance:

> "Indeed, the various differences in arrangement to be found among the several manuscripts would tend to emphasize that the Italian pieces, like the later Elizabethan music, was considered 'apt for voices or viols.'"[2]

When Machaut's ballades and rondeaux are performed instrumentally, however, one important feature of the style is obscured -- the contrast of melismatic and syllabic passages. Thus, although instrumental performance is permissible, it is probably less desirable than performance with solo voice and instrumental accompaniment. Fourteenth century motets have also been found in organ transcription,[3] and modern organists might well consider performing Machaut's motets. A recently rediscovered manuscript contains at least two instrumental versions of Machaut ballades, probably for keyboard instruments. They are true rearrangements rather than mere transcriptions.[4]

1 Pirro, Histoire de la Musique, 19-23.
2 L. Ellinwood, "Francesco Landini and his Music," MQ 22 (1936), 201.
3 Cf. Chapter IV, p. 151, note 2.
4 Dragan Plamenac, "Keyboard Music of the 14th Century in Codex Faenza 117," JAMS 4 (1951), 179-201.

Machaut, in his own day, seems to have had an equal reputation as a poet and as a musician. Deschamps and the author of the Règles de seconde rhetorique value him chiefly as a poet. Peronne, however, with unerring taste, preferred his music far above his poetry. In her earliest letters, she implores him to send "de vos bons dis notez."[1] She is not even familiar with Machaut's narrative poems. "I do not know the names of your books," she confesses, "nor which ones are the best."[2] Her demands are for music rather than poetry. "It would be enough for me if each time you write you would send me a little 'rondelet' or some such new song."[3] When her demands are not fulfilled her tone becomes more petulant. "It would be enough for me," she writes a second time, "if whenever you write you would send me a little song or a rondel; but let them be with music...So I implore you, my sweetheart, send me less, but send me music."[4] In her last letter, when she breaks off

1 Voir Dit, 16.
2 "Je ne say les noms de vos livres, ne lesquels valent mieus." Ibid., 28.
3 "...et ne souffira se vous m'envoiés toutes fois que vous m'escrivés .1. petit rondelet ou aucune chanson nouvelle." Ibid.,194.
4 "Et il me souffiroit bien toutes fois que vous m'escrisiés, se vous m'envoiés une petite chanson ou aucun rondel; mais qu'il fust notés...Si vous pri, mon tres-dous cuer, que vous m'en envoiez mains, si les m'envoiez notées..." Ibid., 207.

the correspondence, she tells Machaut not to write except to send chansons.[1]

Machaut's own attitude ~~towards~~ towards composition is strikingly illuminated in one of his remarks about the rondeau "Dix et sept" (nr. 17):

> "My sweetheart, I have composed the rondel which contains your name and I would have sent it by this messenger; but by my soul, I've never listened to it and I am not accustomed to sending off anything I compose until I have listened to it."[2]

Machaut's artistic attitude is somewhat different from what we would guess to be that of Vitry, the theorist. As Machaut says, in a different context, "there is nothing so true and just as experience."[3] The final test is not by the judgment of theoretical correctness, but by the judgment of the ear. The same attitude is visible even in his unconventional treatment of certain rhythmic details. Some fourteenth century theorists laid down as an absolute rule that a perfect note could be made imperfect only by a note a third of its value.[4]

1 Voir Dit, 368.
2 "Mon tres-dous cuer, j'ay fait le rondel où vostre nom est, et le vous eusse envoié par ce messaige; mais par m'ame je ne l'oy onques et n'ay mie acoustumé de baillier chose que je face tant que je l'aye oy." Ibid., 258.
3 Ibid., 61.
4 "Queritur utrum aliqua figura potest ultra imperfici quam in tertia ejus parte? Et videtur quod non per locum a simili et per locum ab auctoritate; quia invenimus in Arte Franconis, et in arte magistri Philippi de Vitriaco, et in arte Joh. de Lelle, et aliquorum magistrorum, longam imperfici per brevem, et brevem per semibrevem, et semibrevem per minimam." Quedam notabilia utilia, CS III, 107.

Yet other theorists note as a peculiarity of Machaut's notation that the breve could be imperfected by a minim.[1] Even so small a detail is revealing. While Machaut's music should in no sense be interpreted as a revolt against conventions, its final appeal is to a standard of artistic validity beyond conventional or theoretical correctness.

1 "It nota quod quidam cantores, scilicet Guillelmus de Mascandio, et nonnulli alii imperficiunt brevem perfectam minores prolationem et una sola minima." Libellus Cantus Mensurabilis secundum Johannem de Muris. CS III, 50.

Chapter IX

"La Viez et Nouvele Forge"

"Et si ot des musiciens
Milleurs assez et plus sciens
En la viez et nouvele forge
Que Musique qui les chans forge
N'Orpheüs, qui si bien chanta...
Devant eaus ne sceüst chanter."

Remede de Fortune, ll. 3999-4006.

The musical theorists who wrote in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, such as Philippe de Vitry, or the astronomer-mathematician Johannes de Muris, were aware that they were inaugurating a new era in music, when they gave their treatises such names as Ars nova, or Ars novae musicae. A similar awareness of change, of a break with a past musical tradition, is reflected from an opposite direction in Jacobus of Liège's blasts against the moderni or in the language of Pope John XXII against "the disciples of the new school." The term, Ars nova, has been applied in a broad sense, to all the new music of the fourteenth century, both French and Italian.[1] But the term, as it is used by the theorists,

1 So widespread is this usage that Besseler, although he opposes (with much historical justification) extending the term to cover Italian music, nevertheless discusses the Italian music of the fourteenth century in his article "Ars nova" in MGG, cols. 702-730.

in a narrower sense, refers more specifically to certain rhythmic and notational innovations -- the new use of binary rhythms, of syncopation, and of smaller note values. Much of Jacobus' attack is directed against innovations of this kind:

> "For the new art, as we have seen, uses manifold and various imperfections in its notes, modes, and measures. Everywhere, as it were, imperfection enters into it: not content with this imperfection in notes, modes and measures, it extends the imperfection to the time. For the new art has what it calls imperfect time, and has breves which it calls imperfect in regard to time, a thing unknown in the old art, and it applies an imperfection arising from time to the notes of individual degrees...If the new art spoke of the said imperfections only in a speculative way, it would be more tolerable; but not so, for they put imperfection too much into practice. They use more imperfect notes than perfect..."[1]

The central musical genre, moreover, to which the theorists constantly refer, and from which they draw their illustrations, is the isorhythmic motet.

Machaut's music was made possible by the musical and technical innovations of his immediate predecessors. But his "nouvele forge" became something different from the Ars nova in its original sense. While he served a long apprenticeship to the isorhythmic motet as it had been cultivated by Vitry and the composers

1 Strunk, Source Readings, 183, 184.

of the early fourteenth century, he later turned away from the motet to the very different style of the ballade and rondeau, giving the original movement a new turn. Nor is "la viez forge," as it is represented in Machaut's music, identical with the Ars antiqua which Jacobus defended against the moderni. When Jacobus speaks of the Ars antiqua he has in mind thirteenth century theorists like Franco of Cologne, and chiefly the polyphonic music of the thirteenth century -- organum, motet, conductus, and hoquet.[1] In Machaut's music "la viez forge" goes back to even older traditions, the monody of the troubadours and trouvères. Both "la viez et nouvele forge" are more radical extremes than the Ars nova and antiqua, as the terms were used by fourteenth century theorists. In his ballades and rondeaux Machaut was the boldest innovator; in his lais, the most reactionary conservative. Machaut's music, with its astonishing variety of styles, is a Summa of the chief secular forms, not only of the fourteenth century, but of the thirteenth as well.[2]

1 CS II, 394.
2 No comparable variety is found in Machaut's poetry. In the secular forms, the poetry provides, as it were, an unchanging background against which the variety of musical styles is displayed.

Machaut's influence on later poets and composers is attested by a number of eulogies.[1] Praises of his poetry are perhaps more frequent than of his music. His musical influence is shown more clearly in the immediate impact of his style on French composers of the following generation, and in the extremely wide diffusion of his compositions in manuscripts, not only French, but German and Italian.[2] So great was his international reputation, that even in countries such as Spain, where no manuscripts have been found containing Machaut's music, his work was evidently well known. The Spanish nobility took pains to obtain copies of his works from France.[3] In Portugal, when the author of a hunting book wished to praise the noise of the hounds, he wrote that not even Guillaume de Machaut made such a beautiful concordance of melody.[4] This reference was probably intended as complimentary

1 Cf. Hoepffner, MO I, iii-viii.
2 The subject is very thoroughly studied in Ludwig's introduction to MW (vol. II).
3 Cf. A. Piaget, "Sur Guillaume de Machaut," Romania 22 (1893), 275; "Michaut pour Machaut," Romania 21 (1892), 616.
4 Quoted in MW II, 32*.

to Machaut as well as to the dogs.[1] The casual tone of the reference would indicate, at any rate, that Machaut's name as a musician was practically a household word in Portugal.

To what extent the appearance of Machaut's music in Italian manuscripts is a sign of French influence on Italian music is a question which we shall leave aside. A comprehensive study of the musical exchanges between France and Italy in the fourteenth century, particularly the latter part, has yet to be made, and the subject is too broad to be discussed here, except in one or two of its aspects. There have at times been claims that the French music of the fourteenth century, including that of Machaut, owes its origin to Italian influence. Johannes Wolf, in particular, has held that the important rhythmic innovations of the fourteenth century originated in Italy, and then influenced France.[2] Much of the controversy has centered around

1 Such comparisons are not uncommon. In Gace de la Bigne's Deduits de la chasse, which we have previously mentioned in connection with a reference to Vitry, there is an amusing description of a concert of dogs, in which the big dogs sing the contratenor or tenor, the little dogs the higher parts. (Cf. Pirro, Histoire, 34.)

2 Cf. "Florenz in der Musikgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts," SIMG 3 (1902), 599; Geschichte der Mensural-Notation (Leipzig, 1904, 3 vols.), I, passim.

the dating of the Pomerium of Marchettus of Padua, with its discussion of the imperfect divisions of the breve. Wolf's claims were based largely on the theory that the Pomerium dates from 1309. Ludwig, however, showed that it may date anywhere from 1309 to 1343, the reign of King Robert of Sicily to whom the treatise is dedicated.[1] Ludwig's position and that of his pupil, Besseler, was that France was much more likely to have influenced Italy in the early fourteenth century than Italy, France. So widely accepted has been this latter view, that we might regard the issue as dead, were it not for the fact that Wolf's view has since been revived in a modified form, largely by the late Guillaume de Van.[1]

De Van's argument can be summarized as follows. The Pomerium dates from about 1309, since the language of the dedication indicates that it falls early in the reign of King Robert. Marchettus already speaks

1 "Die Quellen der Motteten ältesten Stils," AfMW, 5 (1923), p. 289, note.

2 "La Prolation Mineure chez Guillaume de Machaut," Sources, Études, Recherches, Informations des Bibliothèques Nationales de France (Première Série, 1er Fascicule, Paris, 1943), p. 24. (This is the only issue of the periodical, an official publication of the Bibliothèque Nationale under the Vichy government.) See also "La Pédagogie musicale à la fin du moyen âge," Musica Disciplina 2 (1948), 75, by the same author.

of imperfect tempus, and, even more important, of the division of the breve into binary groups of semibreves. Vitry's Ars nova, written c. 1320, speaks only of perfect, not imperfect prolation. Although the minim, both the time-value and the notational sign, is of French origin, its original mensuration was ternary. All of Vitry's motets, moreover, are in perfect prolation. Machaut, therefore, could not have learned his use of imperfect prolation through Vitry. He could only have learned it from the Italians. De Van then gives a statistical analysis of the use of prolation in Machaut's works. He concludes that the importance which Machaut gives to imperfect prolation in the rondeaux, for instance, runs counter to French tradition. It can only have been inspired by a foreign element.

We might notice first that the date of the Pomerium has now been established (once and for all, we hope) at 1318, or shortly after, by Oliver Strunk's very tidy piece of reasoning.[1] But the question is not so much one of priority, as of influence. De Van does not

1 "Intorno a Marchetto da Padova," Rassegna Musicale 20 (1950), p. 312.

claim any actual influence of Marchettus on Vitry. The assumption that imperfect prolation was unknown to Vitry is central to De Van's argument, and this assumption is highly questionable. Vitry does not discuss prolation as such, but distinguishes, rather, three kinds of tempus perfectum and two kinds of tempus imperfectum.[1] Four of those kinds of tempus have usually been identified with the so-called "four prolations" attributed to Vitry by later French theorists.[2] The tempus perfectum minimum does not involve prolation, and does not therefore enter into the present discussion. It is in the description of tempus perfectum medium and of tempus imperfectum minimum that Vitry seems to discuss imperfect prolation. Tempus perfectum medium, according to Vitry, contains three equal semibreves, each equivalent to two minims, while tempus imperfectum minimum contains two equal semibreves, each equivalent to two minims. De Van would

1 CS III, 22. "Il s'agirait plutôt ici de la vitesse du chant et non de la prolation, selon le sens que nous donnons à ce mot aujourd'hui." (De Van, "La Prolation Mineure," Sources, 26, note.) But the questions of tempo and prolation are closely connected. Cf. Chapter VI, 283, 284.

2 Wolf, Geschichte der Mensural-Notation, I, 67, 68. Apel, Notation of Polyphonic Music, 340, 341.

apparently argue that the two minims are not equal, one of them being altered -- in short, that it is not really a question of the binary division of the semibreve. Vitry's discussion is not entirely free from ambiguity, yet De Van's explanation seems the less natural of the two possible ones. It also runs counter to the tradition of the French theorists, who do attribute to Vitry the invention of the "four prolations." French fourteenth century notation was based on an extension of the rules governing the relationships between the larger notevalues to the smaller ones so that, for instance, the same relations which hold between breves and semibreves now hold between semibreves and minims. Thus, given theoretical recognition of imperfect tempus and of the minim, the idea of imperfect prolation would seem to follow inevitably.

It is true, of course, that the Ars nova motets, including Machaut's, show a definite preference for perfect prolation. But Machaut's early ballades and rondeaux, which date from exactly the same period, show the opposite preference. Both rhythms seem to be equally available. It is rather a question of a stylistic preference. Machaut's use of imperfect

prolation, moreover, is invariably associated with syncopation, as it is not in the Italian music of the same period, nor does his music show any other traces of Italian influence. The connection which De Van saw between Machaut's use of imperfect prolation and Italian music seems to us of the flimsiest kind.

The musical developments, both theoretical and practical, in France and Italy are largely independent of each other in the early part of the century. The theorists in each country approach their systems of notation through different processes of reasoning. The French take as their point of departure the principles of Franco of Cologne, the Italians, those of Petrus de Cruce.[1] The musical styles of the two countries have few features in common. Even such seemingly similar forms as the *chace* and the *caccia* take such different lines of development as to make it seem probable that they were arrived at independently.

France and Italy do not play the same respective roles in fourteenth century music as they do in other arts. In literature and in the plastic arts, there is little doubt but that the French art of the period

1 Cf. Apel, Notation of Polyphonic Music, 369.

is eclipsed by the Italian. In music, however, the vigor of French art continues undiminished. Italy, although it produces for the first time a music of it own, remains peripheral to France, and as the century progresses, falls more and more under the influence of French music and notation.

In the political and cultural history of France, the fourteenth century as a whole is usually characterized as a period of decline. Philip the Fair's humiliation of the papacy at Anagni in 1303, and the destruction of the order of Templars herald a weakening of the chief feudal institutions. The Hundred Years War, the disastrous defeats of the French aristocracy at Crécy and Poitiers, civil war, and the peasant revolts combine to make the period one of the lowest points in the entire history of France. The adjective most frequently applied to the aristocracy, the papacy, the literature and culture of the French fourteenth century is "decadent".

"Decadence" is one of those terms which has a way of meaning all things to all men. But since it has sometimes been used to characterize Machaut's music, we shall at least try to clarify our own

understanding of the term, particularly as it applies to the history of art, and to discuss some of the senses in which it may and may not be used of Machaut's art. Machaut's poetry has often been called decadent because of its excessive formalism, its cultivation of rhyme and stanza form to the neglect of other elements.[1] We frequently hear modern art called "decadent" for precisely opposite reasons -- for its supposed formlessness and lack of organizing factors.[2] These two meanings are apparently opposite; yet it is possible to find a sense which includes both of them: decadence, in both these instances, must be understood as a historical concept, implying an unfruitful relationship of some kind between past and present, between old and new traditions. On one hand, traditions may become so hardened as to prevent the emergence of new, significant forms; on the other hand, the traditions of the past may be rejected as inadequate, without new ones arising to replace them. Machaut's

1 Cf. Hoepffner, E. Deschamps, p. 9.
2 How apt these characterizations are is not the question here. We are interested, rather, in ways in which the term is commonly applied to art works.

Voir Dit is one of the most perfect examples of a decadent art work. The conventions of courtly love which provide the framework of the poem only falsify the real story, and the story shows up the hollowness of courtly tradition as an exclusive, or complete explanation of experience. The relationship between these two aspects of the Voir Dit might have produced, in the hands of a greater poet, a poetic masterpiece. But with Machaut the relationship remains an unfruitful, not a fruitful one.

Where the history of art is concerned, it is important to distinguish between art which is about decadence and art which is itself decadent. Decadence, indeed, provides some of the richest subject-matter for art. This is why we can never assume that art, in a period of cultural decay, will necessarily be decadent. It may reflect cultural decay without succumbing to it. The Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists, for instance, who saw the older hierarchy of values slowly being dissolved, partly through the rise of new commercial ideals, were literally haunted by the idea of decay. Like Villon, who was also decadent in this sens, they saw "the skull beneath the

skin." But their plays are hardly decadent art works. There is a sense in which Machaut's ballades and rondeaux, with their restlessness and high degree of tension, are also about decadence.

Some music historians have perhaps been over desirous of making their descriptions conform to those of historians in other fields. "And, like this aristocracy," one scholar writes of French fourteenth century music, "the entire art of this period is decadent. Decadent, we mean, in that loftiest significance in which no notion of inferiority enters into the conception but rather interprets it as an over-straining of the traditional creative powers and their extreme intensification, after which only complete collapse, the end of an age-long view of life and art, could ensue."[1]

But to give the term eulogistic, instead of its usual dyslogistic connotations, is to broaden its significance to a point where it is so vague as to be meaningless. The description we have just quoted could be applied to Beethoven's music almost as well

1 K. Fischer, "Polyphonic Music of the Gothic Period," MQ 15 (1929), 500.

as to Machaut's.[1]

To demand that the historical direction of music, in a given period, conform exactly to that of the other arts is to incline too much towards historical determinism. Art, in the final analysis, is always produced by individuals rather than by some "spirit of the times." Thus it should not disturb us if French poetry and French music of the fourteenth century -- both with Machaut as their chief representative -- are of unequal value. In saying this, we are only saying that Guillaume de Machaut, an extremely talented, but not a first-rate poet, also happened to be a musician of genius.

1 Machaut's music somehow refuses to be pigeonholed. To Besseler, for instance, he is a "romantic" composer, while Dechaboy describes him as a composer of the "classic" type. (Essai sur les formules, 216, ff.) Neither characterization is particularly illuminating.

Appendix I

The Manuscript E

The manuscript E, because of the many special problems it raises, was not discussed in the chapter on the chronology of the works. E, which belonged originally to the magnificent library of John, duke of Berry, is the most beautiful of the Machaut manuscripts, and one of the most unreliable. Machaut's editors have often pointed out the faultiness of its literary and musical text, the peculiarities of its arrangement. Of the principal manuscripts, E is the least likely to have been prepared under Machaut's supervision,[1] and therefore least likely to represent one of the successive stages of the book in which Machaut wrote down his works. An attempt to understand E as representing such a stage, I have found, ends in contradiction, even when allowances are made for additions to the original body of the manuscript, omissions, and so forth. In some categories, E contains more works than A; in others, fewer than Vg.

E contains the same narrative poems as Vg, but

1 MO I, xxxix; MW II, 11*.

places the Remede before the two Jugements, and inverts the order of the Confort and the Fontainne. In addition, at the very end of the manuscript, the Voir Dit and the Prise are given. These, Hoepffner and Ludwig reasonably conclude, are additions to the original corpus of E. Unlike Vg and M, however, the contents of E begin with a short prologue, which consists of the four ballades of the beginning of the full prologue as given in A and F-G. Hoepffner decided that the prologue too was not part of E's original corpus, but was added later from more complete manuscripts.[1] But then why the shorter form? If it appeared in E alone it could pass merely as another irregularity of that undependable manuscript. But the short prologue also opens another manuscript, H (B.N. frç. 881). Hoepffner believed that E and H, though not derived from each other, were related through a common source. (H contains only the short prologue and 96 poems of the Louange). From the evidence available to me, I should say, however, that the differences between the two manuscripts are greater than their similarities. In the variants given by

1 MO I, 1, note.

Hoepffner to the prologue (they are not given in full), H agrees with E in 8 cases, and differs in 15. More significantly, H agrees with A, M, Vg, and D, against E in the order of the poems of the Louange and includes several poems which are missing from E. The occurrence of the short prologue in two manuscripts, not too closely related, suggests, therefore, that it had a separate existence at one time -- whether before or after the composition of the full prologue is still not clear. In E and H the short prologue precedes the Louange, while in A, F-G, and the Morgan manuscript, the full prologue introduces the Dit dou Vergier and the narrative poems. If, as Hoepffner suggests, the short prologue was added later from the more complete manuscripts, this fact may explain the shortening -- for the longer prologue, with its mention of the Dit dou Vergier could not very well be used to introduce the Louange. The question is indeed difficult to decide. I am inclined to think that the short prologue was written originally as an introduction to the Louange (which is placed first in E, H, D, J-K, and Vg), dropped when the narrative poems again opened the manuscripts (the stage represented by M), and expanded in the "late period" to lead into the narrative poems.

The Louange in E is in an intermediate stage between Vg and K. One text, M 228, which is not found in Vg, is placed as E 40. A glance at Chichmaref's concordance tables will show that the order of the Louange poems in E is quite different from that of the other manuscripts. This rearrangement of the Louange is the result of a logical process. The chansons royales and rondeaux, which in the other manuscripts are interspersed with the ballades, in E are gathered together so as to form closed groups, still within the Louange. Like F-G, E omits a number of texts. Fourteen of nineteen texts omitted are composed. The compiler of E, like that of F-G, wished to purify the Louange of its musical texts.

The music section of E begins with the lais and motets, and continues with rondeaux, ballades, and virelais. Since E has an unusually large format, the motets do not fill a verso and recto side, as is usually the case, and the scribe uses the extra space to fill in the rondeaux.[1] The mass is given last, and the hoquet is missing.

1 MW II, 11*.

In the lais, the repertory of F corresponds to that of Vg, except for the two unica. The order of the lais, as of all the musical categories, in F differs considerably from that of other manuscripts, and there seems to be no logic for these changes. Lai 18 (Le lay de bonne esperance) is given in F, not in the music fascicle, but with the Voir Dit. (F is the only manuscript which gives music with the Voir Dit.) Numbers 16 and 19 (F) are compositions which are found only here. The absence of these two lais in all other manuscripts makes their authenticity doubtful. A study of the music to these lais only deepens the doubt. Certain aspects of their structure are unlike those of all Machaut's other lais. In the first (nr. XXIII) there are, as usual, twelve stanzas, each divided into half stanzas identical in versification. The music, however, is not repeated for each stanza as it it in every other lai. Instead there is new music for each half stanza. The second of the lais is more orthodox in musical structure; the music is repeated for each half stanza, but the versification is different. What is a masculine rhyme in the first half frequently becomes a feminine rhyme in the second

(and vice versa), while the same musical phrase must be fitted to both. This implies a disregard for the principles of correct accentuation out of keeping with the spirit of Machaut's other lais. The underlaying of the text is very poor in both lais. Some of this is probably the fault of the scribe -- there are points, for instance, where a syllable is clearly placed directly below a rest.[1] But the composer too seems to be at fault. Feminine endings fall on strong beats with disturbing frequency. There are other rhythmic features which do not seem in accord with Machaut's general practise: the treatment of perfect prolation in Lai XXIII; the use of longs and breves in the first stanza of Lai XXIV, with a shift to shorter note values for the other stanzas. It thus seems likely that these lais were the work of a composer other than Machaut. E, moreover, shows signs of having been worked over by another composer. A number of ballades and rondeaux have added voices which are not found in the other manuscripts, and are almost certainly not by Machaut. The lais, too, are thus of

1 Cf. Lai XXIII, stanza 7b, E, f. 126.

very doubtful authenticity.

Number 23 of the motets, already found in Vg, is missing in E. In the ballades and rondeaux, however, E's repertory is complete, including ballades 39 and 40, and rondeau 21, which are not found in A. Ballades 33, 34 and 36, rondeau 17, and lai 18 are given only with the Voir Dit, not in the music fascicles. Ludwig thought that these compositions represented the new texts of the Voir Dit, while two rondeaux which appear in both places were incoporated into the Voir Dit from Machaut's older work. Actually all these works were probably composed before the completion of the Voir Dit, for they are found in Vg and M, while the Voir Dit itself is missing. It is possible, of course, that some were written dumming the composition of the Voir Dit, or during the course of the love affair with the "dame d'Armentieres." I should not place too much reliance on the placing of the texts in E. We have seen that the scribe of E tried to weed out the musical works of the Louange, with only partial success. A similar attempt, with similar results, was made, I think, in this case -- the two rondeaux that are given twice are probably included in the music section by chance rather than by design. The very fact that the

Voir Dit has influenced the selection of ballades, rondeaux and lais in E, makes it difficult to separate the Voir Dit from the rest of the manuscript, or to consider it a mere addition to the original repertory of E.

The discrepancies in order and arrangement between F and all the other manuscripts, and its general faultiness, rule out the possibility that it was prepared under Machaut's own supervision. Possibly it was prepared by the duke of Berry's direction, through his librarian, Flamel; or the anonymous composer who contributed the lais, and the added voices to some works, may have been the actual compiler. E, at any rate, cannot, like C, Vg, K, A and F-G, be considered to represent a chronological stage in Machaut's development.

Appendix II

A New Machaut Motet?

A manuscript fragment discovered in Switzerland contains two motets, one attributed to Vitry and the other to Machaut.[1] Both are motets contained anonymously among the motets of Ivrea and the lost works of La Trémoille. Zwick seems to consider this attribution a reasonable proof of Machaut's authorship:

> "L'attribution d'un nouveau motet à Machaut ne laisse pas d'être troublante: en effet ce musicien semble avoir pris un soin particulier de la publication de ses oeuvres et on connaît plus de trente manuscrits qui nous les livrent. Il faut noter cependant que la question des sources n'est pas définitivement close, car on sait par d'anciens inventaires que des livres de Machaut et des recueils de motets sont aujourd'hui perdus. Ainsi une nouvelle attribution à Machaut n'a rien d'invraisemblable. D'autant plus que la critique interne de ce motet n'y contredit aucunement. Jusqu'à preuve du contraire, cette attribution est donc admissible."[2]

But this reasoning is not acceptable. The chief Machaut manuscripts establish so firm a canon of authentic works, that there is even doubt of the

1 Gabriel Zwick, "Deux motets inédits de Philippe de Vitry et de Guillaume de Machaut," Revue de Musicologie 30 (1948), p. 28.

2 Ibid., 47.

unica found in a manuscript such as E. Machaut's repertory could be enlarged only by the discovery of an entire manuscript more complete than A and F-G. The Machaut attribution should be rejected on this ground alone. For the Vitry work, the problem is not so well defined. None of the works attributed to Vitry are as firmly established as those of Machaut.

Moreover, the work, Li enseignement de chaton - De tous les biens qu'amours ha a donner (Ivrea 41),[1] contains stylistic features not at all typical of Machaut. To mention only a few points -- the versification of the texts seems far inferior to that of Machaut, and does not use rich rhyme at all. This is true of no other Machaut motet. Musically the work, which is isorhythmic in all voices, exhibits a much more rigid treatment of the ends of the periods than is ever found in Machaut, with the phrases in all voices ending together. This is an effect that Machaut always avoids.

1 Transcribed, loc. cit., 53-57.

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